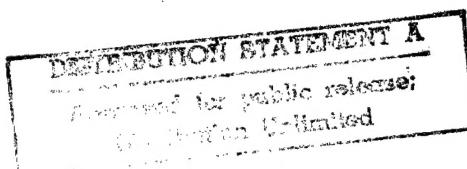


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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17 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

VISITING FINNISH REPORTER EXAMINES POPULATION, RELIGION POLICIES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Mar 84 p 37

[Article by Kaija Virta: "Albania Encourages Population Growth"]

[Text] It was predicted 15 years ago that the population in Albania will exceed 3 million in 1981. This goal was not achieved by approximately 300,000 people. Even though the state favors a high birth rate, the average number of children in a family seems to have undeniably declined from five--six to less children.

An Albanian woman who has accepted the official line unhesitatingly answers the question regarding contraceptives and abortion: No, we do not use them. Then she quotes a long passage from Lenin, according to which bourgeois deception under capitalist conditions has made women to consider children an obstacle to their liberation although the real reason for their difficulties is a social structure that ignores the needs of women.

But the Albanian woman in question happens to be unmarried, and she admits that she has had to have zealous and heated discussions with her brother's family to persuade them to have a third child.

Since the revolution Albania's birth rate has in any event been one of the highest in Europe for a long time, and the results can be seen at any family gathering. The abundance of lively youth brings tears of joy to the eyes of any patriot. The statistics indicate that nearly 80 percent of Albanians are under the age of 40.

Kraja's Family

For the time being there are only two children, six and two years old, in the family of technician Gezim Kraja, who has been married for 8 years. The 33-year old Gezim and his wife are both employed at the Shkodra Cable Plant. He says that there are no child subsidy provisions in Albania, but free medical care and an extensive day care system, for example, act as a counter-weight.

A maternity leave, during which women are paid 80 percent of their normal wages, is 6 months long, and after that women who are employed have the right to breast-feed their children during working hours at the plant nursery.

Nursery care is not free, but costs 40--100 leks per month depending on a family's income. Gezim earns approximately 650 leks, his wife earns 600 leks. The husband's mother, who lives with them, receives a monthly pension of 350 leks. (A lek is equivalent to a little less than 1 Finnish markka according to the official rate, but in this connection a straight comparison is, of course, artificial.)

Women can retire at age 55 and men at age 60. The average life expectancy in Albania has risen dramatically since World War II from 38 to nearly 70.

Albania takes pride in the small differences in wages. The salary of a high official in a ministry is only twice that of the average wage of a worker. Earnings in rural areas seem to be slightly less than in urban areas since Anesti Gode's family, who is employed on a state farm near Korca, says that the farm worker earns an average monthly wage of 560 leks.

Sixty percent of Albania's population still lives in the countryside. And even Anesti Gode's home village continues only to grow. One's place of residence depends on one's work: no one is left unemployed in Albania, but in such an event one must also accept the job provided by the state. One of the most popular comedies in recent years in Albania has been "The Fine Lady from the City", which relates the story of a city woman seeking the good life and her reluctance to adapt to a rural village, to which she had to move with her daughter upon completion of her vocational training.

No Rent Increases

The Kraja family lives in an apartment that has three rooms and a kitchen in a building constructed 10 years ago, and the rent has been the same 35 leks per month since the very beginning -- a little less than the price of a man's shirt.

The walls of the living room, which is separated from the kitchen by a curtain, are decorated with the couple's engagement and wedding pictures, the mother-in-law's wedding picture from 1940 stands in a place of honor in the corner, and an Italian print of Skanderbeg, medieval Albania's national hero, riding on a horse, decorates the entryway.

Gode's four-member family lives in a one-story white brick house in the village of Rrembec, which is a part of the large Plasa state farm. Before the revolution when the whole village was owned by three landlords, no one had a house constructed of bricks and decent furniture. Now the villagers own their homes, for which they received loans from the state.

Even the living room of a rural family is dominated by an Illyria brand television made and assembled in Albania. Under it is a glass cabinet containing a coffee serving set and souvenirs, behind which one can see a carefully arranged row of Enver Hoxha's works including an illustrated memoir entitled "With Stalin".

Wood Fireplace and Oil Stove

The room is heated by a cozy wood fireplace. Even in Albanian cities this is still the most common source of heat in the winter when sub-freezing temperatures are not uncommon. Meals are cooked over the same flame in the winter and in the summer over a small oil stove. The exception is the central Albanian town of Stalin where even single-family residences use the locally produced gas.

Albanian families frequently feast on huge cheese and meat filled pies that are a half meter in diameter and thus are too large to be baked in the ovens of the average city home. Thus the housewife must carry the unbaked pies across the street to a public oven, from which an attendant wearing a white coat will remove the steaming pie after it is done for the housewife to take home.

The prices of basic foodstuffs are considered to be low and exceptionally stable. A large 2-kilo thick-crusted loaf of bread has cost 4 leks for many years. There seems to be a reasonable amount of vegetables and fruit available even in the winter, and leeks, lettuce, cauliflower, apples, and oranges were being sold everywhere for just a few leks per kilo.

Even eating in restaurants was not too expensive. In travelling around the country I noticed that restaurants in local hotels seemed to be favored by the average male worker during the lunch hour.

In the country all the meals in Anesti Gode's family were eaten at home. The work day is planned around them. The day begins at 7 am at the Plasa state farm, the lunch hour lasts from 12 noon until 2 pm, and the 8-hour work day ends at 5 pm.

The work day is of the same length in the factories, but the lunch break is only 30 minutes, and workers in the city generally return home already around 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The work week is 6 days throughout the whole country, and there is not even any talk about shortening it.

Religion Was Abandoned "in Three Months"

The public practice of religion has been prohibited in Albania for nearly 20 years. Priests were forced to become workers in 1967, the more stubborn ones were imprisoned, churches and mosques were transformed into museums, theaters, restaurants, and sometimes even into barns.

The officials argue that religion -- three religious communities were influential in the country: Islam, Greek Orthodoxy, and Roman Catholicism -- was eliminated in 3 months and the issue was dealt with once and for all. Religion as a social problem is no longer even discussed in connection with the ideological education of youth, states Hulusi Hako, an instructor of Marxism in Tirana.

Bibles Floated to the Shore

In Hako's opinion only foreign propaganda continues to make an issue of religion in Albania. Neighboring countries exaggerate the question on radio and tv transmissions reaching Albania and they float religious literature packed in plastic bags to the shore.

"Or if a former priest is punished for collaboration with the Nazis, he is made into a hero abroad," complains Hako. This could be a reference to allegations circulating in the West about the execution of priests in Albania.

Even outside observers are frequently of the opinion that religion, in general, did not play a major role in the life of the average Albanian even before the turn of events in 1967. This is explained by history. The various religions were introduced into the country one after another along with the various foreign conquerors, and often instead of a real conversion the people only submitted to them.

The most obvious example was the spread of Islam beginning in the 1400's when the Turks conquered the country. Embracing Islam instead of the Christian faith brought tax reductions and in the higher classes better career opportunities. In some areas a unique religious dualism developed: Islam was practiced publicly while remaining faithful to Christianity within the confines of one's home.

Muslims Comprise Majority

At the conclusion of World War II approximately 70 percent of Albania's population were Muslims, 20 percent Greek Catholics, and 10 percent Roman Catholics.

In principle, the new socialist constitution guarantees freedom of conscience, but the rights of churches were immediately restricted. The educational system was totally separated from the church. The representative of the Vatican, who lived in Shkodra, was expelled from the country, the majority of church property was confiscated, and all congregations were obligated to persuade their parishioners to be loyal to the new regime.

According to the officials, the religious communities, however, continued their disruptive work in cooperation with foreign states and "the majority of priests retained their attitude of opposition to the people". A glimpse of how this transition is presented to the present generation can be seen from an episode in Ismail Kadár's novel "Wedding": in it a story is related of a monastery of long-bearded monks, to which women and girls were enticed to come by means of superstition -- to be raped.

The first lines of the final act were uttered by Chairman Enver Hoxha in a 9-hour speech delivered at the party congress in November 1966. If the victory of democracy is not consolidated on the ideological front also, Hoxha warned, the economic and even political victories achieved in the last 20 years will be placed in danger.

According to Hako, the future was taken care of by the people themselves. First the residents of a certain northern community decided by a vote of 490 to 4 to expel their priest, whose activities weakened productivity and led youth astray. Then along the coast in Durres a classroom rose up in rebellion against their Christian teacher.

Hako, who as a young teacher participated in these events himself by writing a pamphlet entitled "We Accuse Religion", explains that "the campaign of the masses was unexpectedly radical".

Comparison With China

Since Albania had very close relations with China at that time and since the cultural revolution, which contained many similar traits, took place at exactly the same time in China, it was easily believed elsewhere in the world that the former was a direct consequence of the latter. There was, of course, some interaction, but, on the other hand, Albania's leadership at that time adopted a very cautious attitude toward the actions of China's youthful Red Guards and has subsequently clearly condemned them for their inhumane excesses.

Since there are no religious ceremonies, the important events in life are celebrated in Albania not only by the new socialist-instituted practices, but also by keeping the old folk customs alive.

Thus a funeral always entails a 1-day wake at the home of the deceased in the presence of family and friends. Not only pedestrians but cars come to a halt on the road to honor the deceased and those escorting the coffin. A representative of the block committee or a fellow worker delivers an emotional eulogy.

The practice of holding a wedding reception for hundreds of guests, which represents a considerable financial burden for the parents of the wedding couple, has only recently been abandoned. Nevertheless, weddings are still celebrated in the cities for several days, first at the home of the groom and then at the home of the bride.

And, naturally, it is not enough in Albania that these ceremonies be just as fine as religious oriented ceremonies. "The churches mystify these events, but we celebrate them in a warmer and more authentic manner," is the explanation given to a foreigner.

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CSO: 3617/119

BULGARIA

IRISH CP OFFICIAL MEETS YOTOV, STANISHEV

AU311557 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 31 Mar 84

["United in a Common Struggle"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 31 March (BTA)--The working visit in our country of the secretary general of the Communist Party of Ireland, Mr Michael O'Riordan, from 26 through 31 March, has ended. The visit was paid at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The guest met Mr Yorday Yotov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and editor-in-chief of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party. They exchanged information on the tasks and problems the two parties are working on in the present stage. Anxiety was expressed over the extremely dangerous international situation created through the fault of the United States and their NATO allies. There was reaffirmed the determination of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the Communist Party of Ireland to contribute actively to the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, to the efforts at averting a nuclear catastrophe, to peace and security in Europe and the world.

Readiness was expressed at the talks by the two fraternal parties to continue furthering their relations upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 31 March carries a similar report on O'Riordan's visit which adds the following: "Michael O'Riordan left Bulgaria today. He was cordially seen off at Sofia Airport by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev."]

CSO: 2200/98

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST LEADER--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, a delegation of the South African Communist Party led by its General Secretary Moses Mabhida arrived in Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the guests were greeted by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary. [Text] [AU011800 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Apr 84]

DZHUROV MEETS RETIRING OFFICERS--Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, attended a meeting at the Ministry of Defense at which the ministry leadership met a group of generals and officers, veterans of the active anti-fascist struggle, who are retiring. According to a State Council decree they are being awarded high decorations for their long service in selfless devotion and for their participation in the development and training of the Bulgarian People's Army. Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, presented the awards and greeted those decorated on behalf of the BCP and on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, personally. [Text] [AU301319 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 84]

BOZHINOV RECEIVES SRV DELEGATION--Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of energy and raw material resources, and also chairman on the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Vietnamese Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, has received the parliamentary delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam led by Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the National Assembly. [Text] [AU300900 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 30 Mar 84]

IRON, STEEL INDUSTRY PROBLEMS--A session of the Permanent Commission for Socio-economic Development at the National Assembly, chaired by its chairman, Stoyan Markov, is taking place in Sofia. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, also attended the session. The National Assembly deputies discussed the report by Angel Zapryanov, chairman of the Ferrous Metallurgy Corporation, and the coreport by Petur Balevski, chief of a working group of this commission, on the development of ferrous metallurgy in the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It was noted that during the period 1981-83, ferrous metallurgy has developed at high and stable rates. The National Assembly deputies also noted that the fulfillment of the planned measures for modernizing, reconstructing and building new capacities is lagging. The introduction of progressive technologies is lagging and the utilization of the production capacities is still unsatisfactory. [Text] [AU301109 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Mar 84]

CSO: 2200/98

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HONECKER LETTER SUPPORTING CONTADORA GROUP, SELF-DETERMINATION

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Mar 84 p 1

[Article datelined Berlin (ADN): "GDR Linked in Solidarity to the Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean"]

[Text] The president of the Republic of Ecuador, Dr. Osvaldo Hurtado, in a personal letter informed the secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Erich Honecker, on the content and task of the Quito Conference. In so doing, he fulfilled the request of the conference participants to make the Declaration of Quito known to chiefs of state and heads of government. The declaration affirms the sovereign right of all nations of Latin America and the Caribbean to go their own way without any kind of external interference, and to exclude forever the threat, or use, of force in resolving international disputes.

Erich Honecker sent the following letter of reply to the president of Ecuador:

"Esteemed Mr. President,

I thank you for your letter of 21 February, 1984, in which you communicated the Declaration of Quito and the action plan of the Latin American economic conference.

The German Democratic Republic has followed with great interest the economic consultation initiated by you, Mr. President, which is without doubt of far-reaching significance. I assure you that the results of the meeting of heads of state, chiefs of government and other leading personalities of Latin America and the Caribbean will be studied thoroughly and carefully.

I should like to assure you, Mr. President, that the German Democratic Republic concurs with the principle, affirmed in the declaration, that all nations of Latin America and the Caribbean possess the inalienable right to go their own way without any sort of outside interference in economic, social and political matters. The German Democratic Republic is also in agreement with the participants of the Quito conference to exclude forever the threat, or use, of force in resolving international disputes.

The German Democratic Republic shares the concern about growing interventionism in some regions of the Latin American subcontinent, which threatens in a highly dangerous manner the peace and sovereignty of the countries concerned. It advocates finding negotiated solutions for all conflicts. The German Democratic Republic considers the numerous efforts by the nations of the Contadora group, and the results achieved so far, an encouraging example in this sense.

The traditionally friendly relations between our nations already follow the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Quito. This was visibly manifested, too, during the visit of your foreign minister, Dr. Luis Valencia Rodriguez, to the German Democratic Republic. At the same time, the German Democratic Republic considers the development of bilateral relations with the Republic of Ecuador, and with other countries of Latin America, an important contribution to securing and preserving world peace.

Mr. President, I take this occasion to assure you of my sincerest esteem and to send you warm regards and best wishes."

9917
CSO: 2300/364

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LUTHERAN CHURCH CONFERENCE, PEACE STATEMENTS REPORTED

Seminar on Peace Measures

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German No 11, 11 Mar 84 p 1; No 12, 18 Mar 84 p 1

[Unsigned Article: "Concrete Steps for Peace"]

[Text] The diversity of opinion existing in GDR church peace circles found expression in the second seminar, "Concrete Steps for Peace," which took place in Eisenach last weekend. Vis-a-vis tendencies of resignation, it was discussed how the Christian peace testimony, in the tension between independent attitude and meaningful compromise, can be unmistakably aligned in word and deed. It was stressed that emotions and mind must not be played off against each other, but must work together.

The seminar took place on the invitation of the State Church Council of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Thuringia. The "Altendorf Peace Circle," a work group of Thuringian pastors, was in charge of preparation and execution of the seminar. About 170 representatives of GDR peace groups participated.

Joachim Garstecki, adviser for peace questions at the Theological Study Section, Berlin, stated in an introductory speech that a stabilization of the present situation must not take place for its own sake. Rather, it must correspond to the necessity for political changes so that a system of averting war could become a system of securing peace. This must also become perceptible in society's dealings with problems.

State Bishop Dr. Werner Leich, Eisenach, stressed in a speech the fact that the peace mission of the church can be oriented only through the bonds with the Lord of the church. Christians are irreplaceable in fulfilling the mission to pray for peace, Dr. Leich stated. He considered it particularly promising that especially young people--even beyond the "peace decade"--participate in weekly peace prayers.

Consistory President Manfred Stolpe, Berlin, summarized impressions of the two-day seminar. He stated that there is more openness and tolerance among the peace groups as well as greater diversity of opinion. It is a basic task of the church to listen and to conciliate.

Joint GDR-Dutch Statement

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German No 12 18 Mar 84 p 1

[Unsigned article: "Consultation"]

[Text] At a consultation on questions of peace responsibility, which took place in Potsdam on February 19-23, the delegations of the Council of Churches (Netherlands) and the Federation of Evangelical Churches (GDR) issued a joint communique.

The Dutch partners in dialogue were asked to maintain their resistance to deployment of medium-range missiles in their country. A decision against deployment would be an encouraging sign that the process of escalation can be resisted successfully. In a situation where an attitude of resigned acquiescence to the actuality of armament paralyzes political action, it would be a signal of hope that can mobilize new initiatives.

The delegations exchanged views on the situation in their two countries, the relations of the alliance systems, and the state of dialogue in their churches. Starting point for both delegations was the position of their churches which have denounced the spirit and logic of deterrence and the arms race.

In analyzing the situation, they agreed that the inner dynamics of the system of deterrence, which compels continuous arms escalation, has become the basic threat. As an alternative to the system of deterrence, the concept of mutual security was discussed in particular.

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CSO: 2300/359

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESOLUTION OF CONTRADICTIONS SEEN AS KEY TO CREATIVITY, INNOVATION

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 32 No 2 Feb 84
(signed to press 1 Dec 83) pp 153-162

[Article by Hans-Georg Mehlhorn, staff member of the Institute for Research on Adolescence in Leipzig: "Dialectic Thought and Creativity"]

[Text] As scientific-technical progress penetrates ever broader sectors of our entire life, all working people are getting more of a share of creative tasks to cope with, even though these processes are taking hold unevenly. That, however, requires a growing potential for creative activity on the part of capable working people, who can and want to have a decisive share in determining through their labor the process of scientific and technical and eventually also of social progress. That makes the forming of a high performance readiness for all working people imperative. Only when that exists can the potentials arising from the socialist production relations for further developing the productive forces be exhausted. Especially the use and further development of the production tools call for initiative-rich, responsible and highly skilled activity.¹

The tasks resulting from these processes for shaping the personality development of all adolescents, especially the future engineers and scientists, are multi-layered and must therefore be accomplished on diverse levels. They furthermore are closely connected with enforcing the demand to concentrate the thus far attained educational and qualification level of the working people still more purposefully on solving essential developmental tasks in all sectors and to train and educate the working people in such a way that they can stand up to future tasks. This process elevates the role of personality because more than ever does our society need highly qualified, self-reliant, responsible and creative people. That holds true particularly for innovators, inventors and scientists who must cope with the scientifically and technically most progressive processes.

The increasing complexity of scientific-technical processes also and the increasing collectivity in coping with them demand higher qualifications from each and every member of the collective. At the current developmental stage of our society it is therefore no longer enough to proceed from the intellectual creative personality potential that develops spontaneously, but it is necessary to bring a systematic influence to bear on the people from their earliest childhood so that all potential talents and gifts are unfolded and systematically developed and no one remains below the developmental potential of his mental and practical

capabilities. For that it is important always to keep the encouraging and the obstructing factors in mind. This process has to be understood in its close interaction with those demands that arise from the further development of socialist democracy, from having possibly all working people get involved and share in the management of society on various levels and in various sectors, from the cultural and artistic development of the working people, and from the qualitatively and quantitatively greater opportunities for diversified, individual as well as increasingly social, significant leisure time activities.

The question of how all working people's creative performance level can be further raised through fully using the advantages of socialism is apt to track abundant reserves. An essential complex we find in making the insights of the materialist dialectic, especially the dialectic as a method, and its core, the "doctrine on the unity of opposites,"² more fruitful in our ongoing debate for developing the working people's creative thought and action for coping with the tasks of the scientific-technical revolution.

Creativeness from the Marxist Vantage Point

Of central importance to the Marxist-Leninist conception of creativeness is the dialectic between individual and social creativity. To Marxism-Leninism there can be no social creativity without the working people's individual creative thought and action, nor can there be individual without social creativity. Social creativity comes into its own through the conscious, target-directed and purposeful human activity in life aimed at social change toward historic progress and through man's upward development in this process. Not only does this give to individual creative thought and action the general direction to overall practical-embodied and theoretical as well as, included in it, creative activity, it is also the prerequisite, condition and outcome of the working people's massive creativity. This link between individual creative thought and action and social creativity is objective in nature.

Even ideologues of the antagonistic class society acknowledge that the results of social creativity form the premise for individual creative thought and action, because an individual's creative activity time and again relies on the insights, experiences, capabilities, theoretical knowledge and practical means of his fellowmen and of all previous generations. Equally logically it is being acknowledged that a newly found result enters humanity's store of knowledge. In the Marxist view, this dialectic between individual and social creativity is an element of individual creative thought and action per se and directly affects the goal, substance and direction in creative activity and the commitment of the creative personality.

A Marxist analysis of the function of creativity with regard to the human developmental process--that of society as well as of the individual--calls for analyzing creativity within men's real process of life and for concretely defining it historically. As one knows, man's development is inseparable from human labor because it is the "first and foremost condition for all human life, and this to such a degree that in a way we have to say: it has itself created man."³ Through labor man has constantly expanded his domination of nature and thereby developed himself and his social relations. We must therefore locate the creativity in human activity wherever man transcends the prevailing objective

and subjective limits of his previous control over the environment, whereby human control is expanded qualitatively and quantitatively and--in terms of the labor process--labor productivity is increased decidedly. This process also provides for a qualitative development of creative man's own nature. Creativeness hence is always an element in a process which makes possible, directly or indirectly, a decisive qualitative and/or quantitative expansion of a target-directed change of the environment and the subject's appropriating an object, while it at the same time is an outcome of that process. Without creativity, the human developmental process, as a development of the social nature of man and of human society, is impossible.

Social creativity takes hold in socialism through the conscious acts of all working people in the process of our social development toward historic progress and through the concomitant progressive development of acting personalities as agents and generators of social progress. That is linked with the constant expansion of the proportion of those working people who accomplish individual creative achievements of great scope (collective, society, humanity). Man's social and individual creativity must needs be tied to, and also result from, man's confrontation with his environment, and to the development of working tools, man himself, and his social circumstances.

Proceeding from these considerations one has to ask what the causes of creativity actually are. And here one must press on from the question of why men produce and where the impulses for production, and thus for human work activity, are to be found to comprehending the causes of creativity.⁴ This is so very important because this concerns the causes for work, and thus for creating products, as well as the development of man and of social relations, in that man develops only through his activity.

The point of departure here is found in the Marxist position to the effect that the forces propelling movement and development are always tied to the existence of contradictions. Lenin pointed out that the "condition for understanding all processes in the world in their 'automotion,' as spontaneous development, as living vitality, is comprehending them as a unity of opposites (splitting the unified into mutually exclusive contradictions and the inter-relations between them)." This view alone would "furnish the key to the 'leaps,' to the 'break up of the gradual,' to 'reversals into the opposite,' to the passing of the old and the genesis of the new."⁵

As the typically human and implicit reason for production, however, are the needs and--in the dialectic--conversely also the development of needs presupposes production, the need can be considered a cause and impulse ("driving force," "source," "motive" of "automotion"⁶) only in so far and when it is itself expressive of the unity of opposites. Even in their "German Ideology," Marx and Engels pointed out that a fundamental for all history is "that a satisfied first need itself, the act of satisfaction and the by then acquired instrument of satisfaction, leads to new needs--and this production of new needs is the first historic act."⁷ Their expanded reproduction hence is the first condition for development. Later, Marx presented the relation between production, consumption and need as follows: "Consumption produces production in that consumption creates the need for new production, i.e. the inherent ideal and

propelling cause for production, which is its precondition. Consumption creates the production drive; it also creates the object that is used in production for its purpose. If it is clear that production externally offers the object of consumption, it must be equally clear that consumption posits the object of production as an ideal, as an inherent image, as need, as drive, as purpose. It creates the objects of production in a still more subjective form. Without need, no production. Yet comsumption reproduces the need."⁸

The dialectic unity of the opposites production and consumption, as embodied in need, becomes clearer still when Marx goes on to say: "Production produces consumption by (1) creating the material, (2) determining the mode of consumption, and (3) creates as consumer needs the products it has itself first posited as objects. So it produces objects of consumption, modes of consumption, the drive for consumption. Likewise consumption produces the predisposition of the producer in soliciting him as a purpose-directed need."⁹ And then Marx goes on to say: "Consumption only performs the act of production by completing the product as a product, by dissolving it, by digesting the independent objective form of it, by lifting into its finished state, through the need for repetition, the predisposition developed in the first act of production (Author: creative act). In turn, production produces consumption by creating the specific mode of consumption and then again by creating the enticement of comsumption, the consumption capability itself, as a need. Consumption as a pressing need is itself an inherent element of productive activity. But the latter is the starting point for making something and so also the transcending element, the act into which the whole process runs in the end."¹⁰

Marx here explains the need from the unity of the opposites of production and consumption constituting at one and the same time a unity ("identity") and exclusionary opposites. Only this way of looking at it discloses the traits in the need that are required for it to be understood as a significant developmental impulse for the subject. In terms of this conception it is unnecessary to shift the source "to the outside."¹¹

Only in the production-consumption dialectic then the need, as the product of social production, can become an impulse for development and can its satisfaction at the same time become a cause for an expanded reproduction of needs.

Marx, in saying that consumption posits the object of production "as an ideal, an inherent image, a need," while pointing out that consumption creates the objects of production in a still more subjective form, then also defines the subjective manifestations of needs. In our context there are least two aspects that appear significant:

1. The need is an ideal image of an object of future production (or a likeness, the notion of a product in a person's mind and such) that eventually is created in a more subjective form (i.e. imagined, mentally anticipated) by consumption, and that has to be produced for the satisfying of needs, for consumption, by the activity of the subject.
2. At the same time, the need is created as an ideal, i.e. in a form in which the merely mentally created object would suit a still more perfect satisfaction of the need, as soon as it becomes real.

This then illuminates the contradiction that qualifies need as an impulse, and this in a twofold sense:

1. The motivation for production and ultimately for any human action initially lies in the dialectic between the imagined, mentally created product and the need satisfaction anticipated by that product on a concrete-historic plain in the confrontation of man with his environment or a perfectly concrete plain of his real activity in life, in the unity of the opposites of production and consumption and thus, ultimately, in the dialectic of the production process.¹²

2. The "internalized" image of the object is brought to realization in production without reaching, however, the ideal form of realization as posited by consumption. The process of need satisfaction always posits again at an ever higher level the contradiction between the ideal of the need satisfaction and the reality of the possibility of such a satisfaction. That leads to a permanent perfecting of the product and/or to, in principle, new possibilities for need satisfaction, and is at the same time an essential source for imagination and sensitivity, two essential subjective prerequisites for creativity. The increasing perfecting of objects of production aiming at improving need satisfaction creates new needs because consumption always posits the object of production as ideal. This contradiction between the posited ideal object of production and the level of need satisfaction by the object of production as it really is creates an essential permanent cause for creativity, because man has experienced and experiences it as both a producer and a consumer.

It follows from this that needs in the real process of life, especially in man's conscious activity in life, are generated in the production process and exist in the process of man's confrontation with his environment as subjective reflection, as a growing awareness of man's ongoing and present limitations. Against the background of the infinity of the human cognitive capability, such limitations become conscious not as a definite limit, but as a potential opportunity to overcome the limit through the consumption of the "ideal" product to be obtained. Need, as a subjective result of production, thus is not only a source of production but also of creativity. It closes the contradiction between the current and potential future possibilities for action ideally even where for the time being no need satisfaction is yet possible because the product needed for consumption has not yet been produced or is not yet producible in the current stage of knowledge.

Need satisfaction in its entirety then also means an expansion of man's activity potentials in a certain direction toward appropriating the environment. Need satisfaction thereby does not lead to standstill but to creating new needs and new conditions or forms for realizing them through the production process. A man rich in needs is then also one who is rich in activities, one who in the process of his life "acquires an all-round character in an all-round manner, as a total man, that is," and vice versa, "a rich man is at once a man who needs a totality of human vital expressions, being a man in whom his own realization exists as a need, as an inner necessity."¹⁴ The dialectical contradiction between product and need does not only entail the source of production, however, but also that out of which man develops, because "each of his human responses to the world, his seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, thinking,

intuition, perception, volition, acting, loving, in short all organs of his individuality as well as the organs which in their immediate form are communal organs are in their embodied response or in their relating to the object an appropriation of it."¹⁵

The dialectic between the ideal of the need and the reality of need satisfaction has to be complemented by another side, the dialectic between need generation and need satisfaction. Because a need also expresses directly the mentally anticipated importance of a product (or of the outcome of an action) to strengthen the position of the subject in confrontation with and in appropriating the environment. The stronger the need for a product as anticipated need satisfaction and the more the subject thereby accepts the importance of the anticipated product for his need satisfaction, the higher is the subject's motivation in seeking to attain the ideally posited production object--and the more strongly again will the contradiction be felt once the product is at hand between the ideal and its realization. It seems to us that there lies a significant source for creativity and personality development, because it depends on the strength of motivation how hard someone tries truly to achieve as adequate a product as possible through his creative activity, and on concrete activity (substance, duration, scope, intensity) depends the impact on further personality development.

The permanent cause, result and goal of creativity is man's constantly expanding his control over nature, his becoming one with his social environment, the establishing of natural interhuman relations and relations between man and nature, "the development of the social individual that appears as the great cornerstone for production and for wealth."¹⁶

The Creative Process

The creative solution needed for solving ripening problems in the process of coping with the scientific-technical revolution in any case means surmounting contradictions of various sorts (e.g. raising production with the same or with diminished material, raw material, and energy investments, at the same or diminished number of manpower or working time, in improving crucial product parameters and so forth). Resolving such contradictions calls for creative thought and action and entails improvements for particular parameters all the way to the development of world historic new solutions of principle and key inventions. Special attention is warranted for improving the quality of creative solutions, among them mainly the proportion of unique world historic solutions of great practical relevance, which is to say, coming much closer to need satisfaction by using the product-need dialectic and that of originating and satisfying needs and the ensuing differentiation among needs. Because the creative process is essentially a process of solving contradictions, it calls for objective dialectic thought. The possibilities for making this more effective are found in providing problem processors with greater skill in deliberately dialectic thought and in a conscious application of the dialectic as a method. There are especially two handles that are offering themselves within the problem solving process:

1. The process of disclosing a contradiction to be resolved (working out its core) that cannot be surmounted (eliminated) by the up to then available knowledge, skills and external aids known to the personality or the collective, and for the resolution of which a new result is required which either does not as yet exist or is not being used in that function.
2. A conceptualization of an ideal result that would ideally resolve that contradiction as a process of the most far-reaching possible intellectual and practical attaining of that result and its verification for surmounting the contradiction.

An analysis of concrete inventions and innovations establishes serious deficiencies and reserves for both conceptualizations. The causes for it are that the analysis of the contradiction is too formal, insufficiently dialectical and, hence, not profound enough, that the core of the contradiction is not sufficiently brought out in its totality and interlinkage, that the poles of the contradiction are not given prominence and that, finally, instead of obtaining objectively new solutions, new compromises only are made the effectiveness of which often clearly lies below the objectively possible solution for overcoming the contradiction. "Making a compromise may mean that one can already produce a partial solution, take a step toward resolving the contradiction, but cannot as yet resolve it. Making a compromise can, however, also mean remaining behind the requirements and possibilities for resolving the contradiction."¹⁷ R. Thiel has made a special point of how important for resolving a contradiction the attitude is toward dialectical contradiction.¹⁸ Therefore, in the study of engineering methods one has emphatically asked for "differentiating between a compromise and a contradiction solution and for formulating the standpoint that technical compromises are indispensable, but contradiction solutions are more demanding and better. Contradiction solutions are inventive solutions; we need more of them."¹⁹ Proceeding from Lenin's position on dialectical contradiction,²⁰ it becomes a matter of elaborating the contradiction in all its sharpness. The would-be engineer should be given the following way of looking at it: "Push the demands made on the project all the way up, sharpen them into a contradiction and then resolve the contradiction!"²¹ "Being creative means resolving dialectical contradictions."²²

Heuristic methods are essential aids. Applying them can help achieving a solution on an objectively already possible level. Especially such systematic methods as Altschuller's "algorithm of invention"²³ and the "productive principle"²⁴ explicitly orient toward exhausting the potentials in the phase of problem specification to work out the core of the contradiction. In Altschuller the methods aid leads from the analysis of the contradiction via an analysis of the poles of the contradiction to offering those principles that in inventions thus far have helped resolve contradictions with equal contradiction poles; they can give a problem solver suggestions for solution principles applicable to his special part.

These systematic heuristic techniques also use in details essential contents of the dialectic as a method. Altschuller's invention algorithm has two essential methodological cornerstones: first, the "ideal machine" and second, the "technical contradiction." We showed above the central importance of the object of production, posited as ideal by consumption, according to Marx, within the scope of creative thought and action. Altschuller has built this "ideal" into his

heuristics as a methodological pillar. By an analysis of thousands of copyrights and patents he traces the path of development of certain inventions and their continual improvements and arrives at this conclusion: "Each machine is pursuing a certain ideal and is developing through its own course of development, as it were."²⁵ Within the algorithm of inventing, therefore, the first step, the assigning of the task, is resolutely followed by the second step, imagining an ideal final solution. On the third step then the question is raised what would obstruct the attaining of the goal, i.e., one looks for the contradiction.²⁶

The "productive principle" in its first step of orientation²⁷ demands determining the change in focus: (a) by setting down the functions the solutions must meet, (b) by a discriminating determination of the social significance to be derived from the problem when solved and the result once achieved, and (c) by a differentiated determination of the concrete conditions for the solution.²⁸ In this process, the processor gets a clear idea of the results to be achieved and of the conditions leading there. This idea also has the function of an "ideal machine" but is more flexibly formulated, because of the larger range of application anticipated, thus only in form of functions and conditions the future solution has to meet. In the imagination a changed focal system arises on which the concrete analysis of the whole problem situation all the way to the elaboration of the core of the contradiction has to be based, which perfects it constantly. Not until this phase is concluded does one begin to look for the ideas that would best conform to the demands for a change in the focal system and resolve the contradiction.

An analysis of the problem situation demands of the processor in his systematic approach a deliberate use of the elements of the dialectic.²⁹ Thus the "productive principle," among other things, orients to a detailed analysis of the problem situation by an analysis of each individual element, to an analysis of each element in its most important relations in the change of the focal system to which it is subordinated, to regarding the situation in terms of its own development, to isolating the inherent contradictory tendencies and, especially in the phase of finding the idea, to exploring new sides and relations, to revealing thus far unknown effects, to setting up new relations through introducing new elements, and to changing the whole by changing its parts.

Going farther in explicitly connecting these heuristics with the dialectic as a method would undoubtedly enrich them further. Students and adolescents, being trained in dialectical thought, will be able to use such heuristics effectively in coping with tasks calling for creative solutions. Creative thinking is dialectical thinking.

Creativeness and Social Environment

The function of dialectical thought with regard to creativeness cannot be confined to establishing causes and needs of creative solutions for the process of social development or to the creative process itself. A dialectical view at the social environment in which creative thought and action develop and creative results are used is becoming increasingly necessary. In this regard, we would like to comment on three aspects.

First, this is a process where something new is made to prevail over something old. One can often run into the notion in our society that the new, the better, the more correct or the more efficient will prevail, quasi, on its own terms over the old due to our social structure. Especially young working people often are disappointed when they discover in their work it is not so and that bringing in something new often calls for stubborn efforts. Frequently they have to realize and experience a great deal to comprehend that resolving these contradictions in the effort of enforcing one's own creative results is in itself an element of the creative process, that through these efforts the result achieved improves further, is better adapted to the needs of the users, adjusted in terms of minor defects, and enhanced in the elegance of the solution or in attracting allies. It is important to emphasize the responsibility of those who have achieved something creative in terms of making that take hold in the sectors for which it was meant, in terms of its actual social effectiveness. It depends on the attitude toward the dialectical contradiction, on the theoretical knowledge one has about the contradiction in our society and on all practical experiences one has had, whether the effort to make a creative idea or result take hold is considered a normal element of living or an extra burden, a relic of the past, as something not inherent in our society.

Second, we should like to comment on ever more broadly involving the working people in creative processes of a strategic nature. When one looks at historic developmental processes, one finds that creative achievements have been accomplished mainly when--especially in technology--higher demands had to be coped with in the labor process that were due to new social requirements.

The acceleration of the scientific-technical progress under the conditions of the continuously sharpening conflict between the systems calls for a change of thought in two directions. High continuity in invention activity is necessary. Here one must track down contradictions that are not yet ripe, are still in their infancy, sharpen them and seek creative solutions. Especially wanted are ideas about new products (devices or machines) which would make mass production much simpler because the large number of units produced would make them especially effective. In such an approach one does not wait until things do not work anymore, a product is no longer saleable, an ancillary supplier drops out, import material has to be substituted for and so forth, but through inventing one constantly seeks further to extend positions attained and hold them in the future as well.

The other aspect concerns the creative activity that is to be developed and used in all working people in this regard. Finding chances for improvements is up to all who are working, not only to the R&D personnel. Adaptation and improvement processes due to rationalization and innovator activity are increasingly becoming standard procedure in the everyday labor process. Sociological research has determined a continuous growth of that proportion of labor time that large groups of working people in material production are using for rationalization and innovator tasks. More and more people must be trainind for these activities if they are to become highly effective. Under this aspect important training is the pupils' and apprentices' MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) activity. The question is to be raised whether it should not generally become one of the mandatory tasks of vocational training to prepare the apprentices theoretically and

practically for their future rationalization and innovation activities. The sooner they become successful in their MMM and innovator activity, the more stably an aggressive attitude develops in them toward overcoming contradictions--and this has also been documented by sociological research.

Third, it is a matter of developing a creative climate in the work collectives. The increasing collectivity of creative activity makes necessary dealing more with the criteria that determine a creative atmosphere in the collective. Especially with regard to creative collectives, it seems to me, many problems have not yet been solved theoretically. Too much social harmony seems to be harmful. If one wants a greatly challenging atmosphere, one must develop the readiness to remain critical about the ideas and work results of the members of the collective, not to extend one's tolerance to persons to include the results of their labor, orient oneself to rigid performance criteria, fight against smugness, always focus on top world standards, which is to say, comprehend here also any contradictions as a productive challenge and surmount them aggressively.

However many social science problems have to be dealt with here still,³⁰ it is now evident that shaping a creative atmosphere in the collective is of growing importance to rendering all working people's creative potentials effective. Other questions that have to be straightened out along with this are those about the impulses in the development of a collective, about the developmental trend of concrete collectives, the optimum task-relatedness, the most favorable incentives, the control over collective processes and the productivity of contradictions.

We have shown here how particularly relevant it is to develop dialectical thought starting in the lower grades. That includes, more than ever, a conscious skill in applying the dialectic as a method and, in particular, the realization that "the genesis, solution and new development of contradictions is the fundamental law behind all development."³¹ This is an experience the pupils and working people have to apply productively to their own conduct because it enhances the readiness to accept contradictions as necessary yet as surmountable through human activity and consciously to identify with those processes for solutions that serve historic progress. This increases the importance the individual personality has in the creative process which also grows objectively precisely because of the growing collectivity of the problem-solving processes--and this is often overlooked. A higher level of dialectic-materialistic thought thus greatly helps in gaining the ability to work out creative solutions for existing problems. Instructing in heuristics must be given more attention in the future; that can help render the creative process clearly more effective. Research has shown that this can already be done in courses at the polytechnical secondary school without otherwise curtailing the curriculum or overtaxing the pupils.³² Together with raising the level of dialectical thought, heuristics will help stably form, beginning at school-age, the working people's mass creativeness.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. H. Nick, "Of the High Demand Made on Creative Work," EINHEIT, No 3, 1982, p 263.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's 'Science of Logic,'" "Werke" (Works), Vol 38, Berlin, 1964, p 214.
3. F. Engels, "The Share of Work in the Humanization of the Ape," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Berlin, 1962, p 444.
4. In the following passage we rely on the position taken in 1977 (Cf. G. Mehlhorn/H.-G. Mehlhorn, "Zur Kritik der buergerlichen Kreativitaetsforschung," Berlin, 1977, pp 9-38).
5. V. I. Lenin, "On the Question of the Dialectic," "Werke," Vol 38, p 339.
6. Ibid.
7. K. Marx/F. Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Berlin, 1962, p 28.
8. K. Marx, "Critique of Political Economy," "Werke," Vol 13, Berlin, 1964, p 623.
9. Ibid., p 624.
10. Ibid., p 625.
11. V. I. Lenin, "On the Question of the Dialectic," loc. cit., p 339.
12. Cf. also L. Seve, "Marxismus und Persoenlichkeit," Berlin, 1972, p 327.
13. K. Marx, "The Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," "Werke," supplementary volume part I, Berlin, 1968, p 539.
14. Ibid., p 544.
15. Ibid., p 539.
16. K. Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1974, p 593.
17. R. Thiel, "Requirements in Engineering Work and the Dialectical Contradiction," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE , No 6, 1981, p 661.
18. Ibid.
19. P. Koch/R. Thiel/H. Zeidler, "Methods in Engineering Work," DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN No 8, 1982, p 212.
20. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus . . .," loc. cit., pp 125, 133.
21. P. Koch at al, op. cit..
22. Ibid., p 213.
23. Cf. G. S. Altschuller, "Erfinden--(k)ein Problem," Berlin, 1973.

24. Cf. G. Mehlhorn/H.-G. Mehlhorn, "Untersuchungen zum schoepferischen Denken bei Schuelern, Lehrlingen und Studenten" (Investigations of Creative Thought among Pupils, Apprentices and Students," Berlin 1979 (with a supplement on programmed introduction to the "Productive Principle").
25. Cf. G. S. Altschuller, op. cit., p 70.
26. Ibid., p 96.
27. Cf. G. Mehlhorn/H.-G. Mehlhorn, "Heureka--Methoden des Erfindens," Berlin, 1981, p 75.
28. Ibid., p 76.
29. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus . . .," loc. cit., pp 212 ff.
30. Also cf. I. Perlaki, "Leitung von Neuerungsprozessen" (Managing Innovator Processes), Berlin, 1977, pp 31 ff.
31. R. Thiel, "Methodology and Creativeness," Proceedings of the Colloquy of 1-2 December 1977 at the Institute for College Education, Berlin, pp 8 f.
32. Cf. G. Mehlhorn/G.-H. Mehlhorn, "Untersuchungen . . .," loc. cit.

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HUNGARY

SOCIALIST BUDAPEST TO HOST LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION CONFERENCE

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 84 p 24

[Article by Miklos Palos: "Key Word: Hope; Lutherans of Six 'Continents'; Preaching the Gospel in Hungarian"]

[Text] This is the first time that the Lutheran World Congress is being organized in a socialist country; between 22 July and 5 August 1984, representatives of the 97 member churches of the Lutheran World Federation will meet in Budapest.

To appreciate the international significance of the event, the knowledge of a few related facts is necessary. First of all, the Lutheran church in Hungary is frequently called Evangelical. The essential difference in usage is that in non-Hungarian language areas, the Evangelical church was established from the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches.

Papua or Budapest?

The Lutheran World Federation was founded in 1947 to represent the faithful of six continents (South America is considered separately). 54 million of the world's 70 million Lutherans belong to the world federation. (The largest portion of non-members--roughly 10 million--are in the GDR and belong to the already mentioned church created from the union of Lutheran and Reformed churches, and the smaller portion is comprised of conservatives living in America and elsewhere.)

According to the decision of the world federation, world congresses are organized every 6 years. The executive committee decides on the location. The fact that to date, Hannover, Minneapolis, Helsinki, Evian and Dar Es Salaam have been locations indicates that the location of the world congress is chosen according to various church policy, social and missionary considerations. Recently, when a decision had to be made in Augsburg in 1980, there were two candidates: New Guinea and Hungary. The argument for holding the important ecclesiastical event in Papua was its effect on the missionary activities, and the organization of the conference in Hungary was advocated by those who maintained that the world congress was a good opportunity for widely publicizing the way the church functions in a socialist country.

The decision was preceded by a lengthy debate in which Dr Zoltan Kaldy, the

presiding bishop of the Hungarian Lutheran Church and also a member of the executive committee of the world federation, extensively argued in the interests of holding the conference in Budapest. The chief opponent was a Norwegian bishop who questioned the political stabilization in Hungary and the situation of the freedom of worship. Two leading American prelates and a West German bishop spoke with special determination in favor of the Hungarian capital city. Finally, Budapest won by a large majority.

The detailed program of the world congress has already been completed and Dr Zoltan Kaldy, the bishop of the host church, and also the president of the preparatory committee, recently reported on it during a conference held in Geneva, and the plans were approved by the world federation.

Televised by Eurovision

Accordingly, the location of the 7th Lutheran World Congress will be held in the Budapest Sports Stadium. The huge establishment was chosen not only because many guests are expected for the plenary meetings, but also because there will be numerous group presentations; in fact, there will even be a program of entertainment.

According to preliminary indications, the arrival of 320 voting delegates and 400 advisor-observers and official delegates--among them, the representatives of the Vatican and other churches--are expected. 300 reporters from every part of the world have also announced their participation. Naturally, a large delegation will also come from Geneva, the headquarters of the world federation. The host church, taking advantage of the opportunity, will invite every Hungarian pastor and churchwoman. In addition, the interested public will be admitted--for certain events.

The opening religious service on Sunday morning, 22 July, will provide the ceremonious atmosphere. Twelve thousand participants are expected. And the event will seemingly take on global proportions in that the religious service, which promises to be imposing in its externals, will be televised live. (Hungarian Television will broadcast details on its evening program.)

Luther Cantata

The preacher at the religious service will be Dr Zoltan Kaldy who will deliver the sermon in Hungarian, based on the organization's decision. The participants will simultaneously receive a printed English-, German-, French-, and Spanish-language text of the sermon. Simultaneous interpreters will translate those passages of the Bible which are quoted in the religious service.

The official program of the Lutheran World Congress will begin with the reports of the world federation's Tanzanian president and American secretary-general, in which an account of the church's work since the last world congress will be given. (More than 1,200 permanent participants of the world congress will begin and end every working day with a public religious service.) All the departments of the world congress will make an appearance at, or rather, report on their

activities at the group discussions.

The host Evangelical church attributes an especially great significance to the fact that the world congress may simultaneously be utilized to introduce Hungary. According to the program, 90 minutes are allotted for this purpose at the site of the world congress. Taking into consideration the multi-lingual audience, they chose the most compact and spectacular form of expression, or rather, artistic mode; director Jozsef Kis, winner of the Kossuth Prize, was commissioned to prepare a 30-minute film to provide an effective presentation of the country for the international congress.

Following this, Sandor Szokolay's four-part Luther Cantata will be presented by the Hungarian "Lutherania" choir and orchestra. The presentation of another series of works which provide information on Hungarian history and which could also be appreciated by the international audience is planned. Similarly, the cultural program serves to introduce the country; its central attraction will be the program of the Hungarian National Folk Ensemble.

The key word of the lectures to be delivered at the world congress is hope. The lecturers will deal with the significant topic from various viewpoints. The titles of the major lectures also indicate this: "Hope for Creation", "Hope for Humanity", "Hope for the Church" and, last but not least, "Hope for Peace".

Thirteen Topics

The conferences and discussions conducted in separate groups encompass a wide range of ideas. In the 30 groups, 13 important topics will come up for discussion, many of which may be considered far from ecclesiastical subjects. Among these, it is worth noting the group of topics entitled "Relating to the Age of Information", "Toward Economic and Social Justice" and "Poverty and Hunger". In all certainty, the topics entitled "Youth in the Church and Society" and "Civil and Political Rights and the Promotion of World Freedom" will provide an opportunity for noteworthy debate. A group is also planning a conference on a problem which arises in the most diverse forums nowadays entitled "The Relationship of Men and Women Within the Church and Society". Hungarian philosophers and sociologists were also invited to attend the discussion which is also significant from a social policy point of view.

It is characteristic of the international interest that in addition to the official delegates and people participating in the congress, numerous tourist and travel applications have already arrived. Several thousand Evangelical believers have indicated their intent to visit Hungary while the Lutheran World Congress is in session. The travel agencies are endeavoring to assemble a program for them in which they may be shown as much of Hungary as is possible in a relatively short period of time.

What promises to be the most exciting part of the program prepared for the congressional delegates and the greatest organizational task for the hosts is that the delegates will visit 120 Hungarian Evangelical congregations in smaller groups of 4 or 5, where in addition to becoming acquainted with the activities of the church, they may gain firsthand knowledge of the social and economic situation.

HUNGARY

MAROTHY DISCUSSES POLITICS, CAREER SUCCESS

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1984 pp 18-21

[Interview with Laszlo Marothy, first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee and Member of the Politburo; excerpts from a radio interview aired on 20 Nov 83, by Dezso Pinter: "The Cities Must Be Protected If the Sea Overflows"]

[Text] An interview aired on 20 November 1983 on the radio produced wide ranging reactions. Dezso Pinter interviewed Dr Laszlo Marothy, first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee and member of the Politburo during the hour-long program of Radiomagazine. Excerpts from the interview follow:

[Question] You were the first secretary of the KISZ central committee for many years. Are you able to utilize these experiences in your present position?

[Answer] I found the entire youth movement activity very instructive; I learned and experienced a great deal. I am grateful to the youth movement. In the movement, one learns to utilize techniques such as convincing people, and calling their attention to their own interests, thus, those movement and organizational methods grounded in human relations which are truly essential and far reaching. I learned to appreciate my colleagues. When a young man joins the movement and wants to measure up to the tasks--because he enjoys it--he becomes enthusiastic and wants to realize all sorts of things. I was this way too. Then I noticed that my friends were greatly suspicious --what is he doing here, what does he want, why is he so enthusiastic and such an eager beaver, etc. I had to learn how to achieve cooperation among many people and how to organize this.

[Question] You are the youngest member of the Party's Politburo. You will be 41 years old on Christmas of 1983. Do you consider your career to be out of the ordinary?

[Answer] Obviously the anomalous is the opposite of the norm, if we mean that the norm would have been for me to be working in one of the agricultural enterprises, in accordance with my training.

[Question] I would ask you to recount the major phases of your career.

[Answer] After receiving my degree I remained at the University for Agricultural

Sciences at Godollo and worked as the secretary of the KISZ committee. From there I went to the KISZ committee of Pest county where I became the secretary dealing with agit-prop affairs. Following this, I became the secretary of the party committee at Szentendre. Today, I still love Szentendre very much. From there, I "youthened" back into the KISZ and was elected the secretary of the KISZ central committee.

[Question] From 1975 you have been a member of the Party's Politburo. Do you consider your career extraordinary?

[Answer] In college a person prepares to perform intelligent work in his profession, and I honestly prepared for this. Politics was not alien to me; as a matter of fact I liked it very much but I thought that I would be involved in it in addition to my work. To my surprise, I was asked to remain at the university and work on the KISZ committee. At first I didn't want to accept, if for no other reason than because I had a social scholarship from my native village, from the Szeghalom production cooperative of Bekes county.

[Question] Are you angered if it is said that you established a very bright career at an early age?

[Answer] This sort of thing is not often said to a man's face. And, of course, if it is not said, there is no reason to be angry. But this career--even of itself--deserves a few words. If a person looks at the work itself in any task, the sense of career does not have a large role. Now let me deal with the outward appearance of "career"; if a person thereby seems to be more or wants to be more, believe me that he is lesser by as much on the other side. That is how much less remains for everyday life, for the family.

[Question] How would you characterize the period when you became the first secretary of the Budapest party committee? How would you describe this era?

[Answer] I think there is no need to outline the increasingly difficult circumstances which exist since 1980, whether I look at world politics, or the economic situation; but if I look strictly at Budapest, I can say that despite all this, the capital city received privileged treatment. It developed very dynamically and if we consider the increasingly difficult circumstances, the opportunities we have are outstanding. The increasingly difficult circumstances are manifested through many effects on society and the mood of the people; and everyday this provides some sort of lesson for politics, the party and public life. Additionally the financial sphere, city construction, contain possibilities and produce results day after day which improve the people's living conditions to an unprecedented degree, and this is felt and appreciated by a great many inhabitants of Budapest.

[Question] If we are already on the subject, how do you picture public sentiment and reaction to individual important decisions, central committee resolutions or, God forbid, a price increase?

[Answer] If I look to fundamental sources, it is not a very complicated task, since here people immediately state their opinions on everything. Since you mentioned price increases, the first response is not something which could be

quoted over the microphone. The next day, it is no longer certain that the response will be the same. People speak openly, therefore it is very easy to feel public sentiment here. One must listen to the people. The other thing is that public sentiment and people's opinions are factors which must always be taken as the basis of policy formulation. Therefore, the party systematically strives to be aware of and know this day after day. Now if the question is how I know, it is not just with the aid of my own eyes and ears, or ... my limited work environment. Day after day, the general sentiment is represented and transmitted by 214,000 party members. After all, they comprise a portion of the city's residents and they too are affected, whether we built something, or the people's situation becomes easier, or we are talking about price increases. 214,000 people responsibly discuss, transmit and call the attention of the party organization to how they see something, how it should be done, or what they suggest.

[Question] I think that non-party members could also be included in this process, not only party members.

[Answer] Naturally. The people's front and the communist youth federation are just so many channels. I don't think that even a single stratum of the residents are left out whose opinions are not transmitted.

[Question] There are some who are concerned that the responsible political leaders do not receive an accurate picture of reality. How well founded do you think this fear is?

[Answer] I regularly meet this concept and it formulates a totally realistic question. I meet it to such an extent that even my mother often asks whether we know about something or other. And then she tells of her experiences and observations. No single organization or single leader should ever become overconfident and consider themselves well informed. But I dare state that our central committee and our Budapest committee are keenly attentive to the signals. In this sense, I am truly familiar with the opinions and mood of the people. You asked whether we get a valid picture. This accurate picture is no longer the same as being acquainted with the public mood or a simple registering of people's opinions. This is already the picture developed through political transformation of what the people are saying. This is already a political task. Because, staying with the "current" example of price increases, the fact that costs are greater naturally engenders a certain type of reflex and this is primarily what sets the mood. The first mood. But in time, that also changes. But a price increase also encompasses hidden features such as whether there are enough goods, which influences the country's economic situation, or rather, provisioning. This is a part of the accurate picture. Fortunately, there are few examples in the history of the MSZMP and I hope there won't be many in the future, where a decision must be made which will not precipitate "applause" at first hearing. The responsibility of politics is far greater than simply listening to or acknowledging the mood.

Some time ago, I read a short story from among the narrative works of the Netherlands. It is about a master dikebuilder whose task was to protect the lives and valuables of the people in the well known situation in the Netherlands

--when the sea overflowed into inhabited areas. He was a good dikebuilder. He built a great many dikes, but the people were beginning to get fed up because it required expenses and work, and they began to revolt. They opposed him and had advocates who attacked him and made life impossible; and he fought for the dikes because the cities must be protected if the sea overflows. But in a weak moment, he allowed himself to be convinced and stopped building dikes. You can guess the gist of the story. One day the sea overflowed and ruined everything they had built. I think this narrative is also somewhat characteristic of politics. If the policy is responsible and does not wish to act only by noting the mood of the moment, the dike-building work must indeed be well completed.

[Question] What is the role of the word of authority in creating order? After all, the relationship of power and the people is a fundamental political issue.

[Answer] He who has the task and responsibility of supervision and calling to account must carry it out. We are increasingly calling deficiencies and negligences to account..

[Question] If we are already on the topic, in what respect does power change the politician, the person? I purposely worded the question in this way, because I consider it natural that he is transformed.

[Answer] I think it is worth spending some time with the concept of power. And politics. And what power does the politician have? I don't think that this word is appropriate in this case because here power is more likely to be manifested in the spheres of legality and responsibility. Here even the duties of the head of government are collective, according to our constitution. The responsibility is individual. The leadership is collective; the responsibility is individual. Thus, every member of the organization is also personally responsible for its decision. But the decision is made collectively. In reference to power and the individual, I think that if one's duties coincide with power, he must change them, in a certain sense. In the sense that he must learn to deal with power. This means tasks, responsibilities, and things to be done; and he could not have gotten used to this previously in everyday life. He who does not learn this, regardless of how exceptional a person he may be, is not suitable for fulfilling a leadership position. This transformation must take place. After all, public opinion does not pay attention to this, but to its distortions. It does not absolutely follow that power will change a person's characteristics. But as the saying goes, people are fallible. The person who falls in love with power must not even be allowed in its vicinity. We are witnesses to the fact that people with despotic, distorted personalities also come to power in the world. Such a person must not be allowed to acquire power. One must serve, and be able to deal with power, and know that it is not for the benefit of the private individual and also that the power serves the community, the people. I don't think it's an exaggeration to say that we must serve our power, the workers' power, with servile humility. The people who receive any kind of power must be accountable. I read somewhere that after the papal conclave, a piece of hemp was supposedly burned in front of the pope, thereby illustrating that the glories of this life are fleeting. I think that the example applied to our case is clear. In the final analysis, he who has a task through which he is able to significantly intervene in the exercise of the workers' power must burn this hemp before himself symbolically.

PIARIST HEAD APOLOGIZES TO CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN BULANYI AFFAIR

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 25 Mar 84 p 1

[Unsigned article: "The Spring Conference of the Bishops"]

[Text] The Hungarian Catholic Bishops Conference held under the chairmanship of Cardinal Primate Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom, its spring session on March 13 and 14 in Budapest.

Laszlo Cardinal Lekai quoted Pope John Paul II's apostolic letter beginning by the words "Salvici doloris" on the Christian interpretation of human suffering and the pope's call on the bishops of the world to offer the entire mankind to the Immaculate Heart of the Virgin Mother in order to bring spiritual solace to the critical situation of today's world. In our country the solemn offerings will take place on March 24 in the churches. The Educational Congregation of the Vatican selected May 13 as the world day of the holy orders. For May 20 the bench of bishops decreed nationwide collections in the churches for the benefit of the timely renovation of the Central Seminary in Budapest. The next regular meeting of the Bishops' Synod will take place in the fall of 1985. The Hungarian bench of bishops proposed two topics for this meeting, i.e. the pastoral care of the youths and the role of the Eucharist in the life of the Church. The Convention of West German Catholics will take place this year in Munich between July 4 and 8. The chairman of the West German bench of bishops, Cardinal Hoffner and the Archbishop of Munich Msgr Wetter have personally invited Laszlo Cardinal Lekai to that convention, at which the attendance of many bishops, priests and laymen is expected.

On the problem of religious education in the parish buildings negotiations are being carried on with the State Office of Church Affairs.

The conference also dealt with the personnel problems of the editorial staff of the magazine VIGILIA.

Father Ruiz, general of the Piarist Order, addressed on 17 January 1984 letters to Cardinal Secretary of State Casaroli, Cardinal Lekai, Hungarian Piarist Provincial Laszlo Varga, the community of Hungarian Piarists and Father Gyorgy Bulanyi. The head of the Piarist Order declared in these

letters that he had misinterpreted the message sent by Cardinal Casaroli to the Hungarian Bench of Bishops on 30 April 1983. Admitting his error, Father Ruiz apologized to Cardinal Casaroli by a letter dated 13 December 1983, and warned Father Bulanyi by another letter on December 4 that the letter of Cardinal Secretary of State Casaroli of 30 April 1983 ought to be verbatim interpreted without any further comments. Father General Ruiz also noted that serious problems have arisen for him because of an interview granted by Father Bulanyi to Kathpress, the Austrian Catholic News Agency. Further Father Ruiz also informed Father Bulanyi that the Secretary of the Congregation of Theology, Archbishop Hamer, would send a commission of inquiry, on behalf of that Congregation, to Budapest in order to review his writings, or else would invite him to Rome for a year of theological studies and the hearing would take place thereafter. For Bulanyi's theology does not seem to be clear to the congregation.

Jozsef Cserhati, bishop of Pecs and secretary of the Bench of Bishops announced that the Holy Father commemorated with pious solemnity the Patron Saint of Lithuania Casimir on the 500th anniversary of his death.

The charity organizations abroad wish to continue helping the Hungarian Church within their tested possibilities. The bishop in charge of the pastoral care of Hungarians abroad, Laszlo Iranyi, appointed Janos Szoke, the principal of the East European branch of "Church in Need" as his West European vicar.

The bishops' conference discussed again the problems of laymens' participation in the pastoral duties of the Church.

Laszlo Paskai, coadjutor archbishop of Kalocsa, reported on the results of the negotiations concerning the foundation of a new holy order for women. He also raised the problem of the future role of ecclesiastic chapters according to the new Church Code of Laws.

Istvan I. Marosi, auxiliary bishop of Vac, reported on the tasks involved in the publication of new catechisms. Bishop Jozsef Kacziba accounted for last year's activities of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the bench of bishops and noted its current plans. Gyula Szakos, diocesan bishop of Szekesfehervar, chairman of the OLT [National Council of Liturgy] discussed topical liturgical matters. In the future the apostolic profession of faith (the so-called short credo) can be cited in the mass. Bishop Szakos also reported on the financial problems of the Clerical Home of Szekesfehervar.

12312
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POLAND

BISHOPS SPEAK OUT ON RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS

LD101618 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 10 Mar 84

[Text] Today, Saturday, 25 pilgrimages of youth from secondary level and vocational schools, including a pilgrimage from Mietno with 700 pilgrims, have arrived in Czestochowa. The majority of young people had crosses on their chests. After a vigil which went on throughout the night from Friday night until Saturday morning in the Chapel of the Miraculous Image young people received sacrament of reconciliation. They also listened to two conferences and watched two religious films.

At 1100 hrs (local) before the Miraculous Image a Holy Mass concelebrated by local priests took place during which the homily to young people was delivered by Mgr Bishop from Czestochowa.

He recalled, among other things, that the sign of the white eagle had always symbolised Poland and that is why when invaders would destroy this sign the entire nation would receive the news with pain. For the believers the sign of the cross is identical with God's love for us. It tells us that God Chose to die on the cross for our salvation. It hurts us, the bishop said to young people, that the struggle for the cross has started yet again and that this is taking place in the salvation year, and that it took place at the beginning of the fast, and that teachers cannot respect the sign beloved by the believing youth. Bishop also recalled that in difficult moment Poles would always arrive in Jasna Gora where we have always been free, as Pope John Paul II put it. At the conclusion the priest encouraged young people to be faithful to the cross and to trust in Mary's care. When the image of Mary was hidden again, the young people from Mietno stayed in the chapel to pray.

CSO: 2600/832

POLAND

RESULTS OF OSTROLEKA PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article by Witold Sawicki and Zbigniew Zamencki: "The PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign: Links With the Working Class Are the Basis for Effective Party Activity: Provincial Conference in Ostroleka"]

[Text] Strengthening the leading role of the party, consistent subordination of all party initiatives to the interest of the working people, and--at the same time--uniting all social groups and local communities in accomplishing tasks derived from the Ninth Congress resolutions--those, to put it in a nutshell, are the characteristic traits of the road the Ostroleka provincial party organization has traveled since June 1981.

How to deepen and to broaden those processes during the next term, without losing sight of the daily emerging problems, was the theme of an hours-long debate at the provincial reports-elections conference held on 9 January, with the participation of 248 delegates.

The conference was attended, among others, by Wladzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee; and Michal Atlas, head of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee.

According to conventional wisdom, the 1980-81 and 1982 events did not assume in Ostroleka Province as dramatic a form as in other regions. But there, too, all the permutations of antisocialist and antiparty activities have emerged, bringing about, *inter alia*, a drop in the party membership. Nonetheless, the socioprofessional structures in the Ostroleka city and province organizations have retained their worker and peasant hardcore, and today they are in clear ascendancy. The provincial organization has over 17,000 party members and candidates.

As the first secretary, Henryk Szablak, pointed out in the report presented on behalf of the outgoing executive board of the provincial committee, during the now completed term of acute political struggle--after the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee held in January 1982, just 1 month after the introduction of martial law--the activization of primary party organizations has systematically continued. This positive trend has been sustained up till now. It follows

the ever more general understanding by the province population that [the party] is co-responsible for the situation in all the local communities, workplaces, villages, as well as in the country as a whole.

This understanding is reflected, *inter alia*, in the gradual, albeit still not fully satisfactory, improvement in the performance of industry, which last year reached its 1979 production level, and even more so in agriculture. Ostroleka Province is a major producer of food nationwide, and the last year has brought about a clear increase in crops, grain procurement, cattle breeding, and dairy production.

The Debate

Stressing those accomplishments, both in the report and in the debate, the conference participants did not avoid criticism, frequently very severe, but accompanied by a search for ways and means which would promote the more effective development of the region.

It was pointed out again and again that "we are supposed to, and have to, solve our local problems on our own, to do better and to work more efficiently." The region has a major underdeveloped potential in both economic and social initiative. To release those reserves is at present the most important duty of the party.

Lech Majkowski, a farmer from Rogowa, in the gmina of Ploniawy-Bramura, vice chairman of the National Council of the Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations, speaking with concern about problems involved in feeding the nation, pointed out that the most important of those reserves can be found in local farming, in accelerated abandonment of traditional but outdated methods of agriculture and animal husbandry, in modernization, in accelerating the pace of land reclamation, in steadily raising the agricultural qualifications of the food producers.

These and similar undertakings are steadily promoted by more tangible economic reform. Grzegorz Szczepkowski, from the Gladczyn State Farm [PGR] in the gmina of Zatory, admitted that the reform does indeed force independent decision making on the managers and the work force as a whole, and obliges them to "live by their wits," but it brings about perceptible results. Not long ago the Gladczyn PGR had deficits covered by subsidies, but recently, thanks, for instance, to advanced specialization of production and processing, to improved systems of motivation and the resulting considerable increase in labor productivity, production has increased, and positive financial results have been achieved.

While agricultural issues set the tenor of the debate on economic problems, industry representatives did not remain silent, either. In this respect--the conference participants talked about it with intense feeling even during the intermissions--a lot still has to be caught up with and improved. The per capita domestic material product, for instance, is still considerably lower than the national average, and has to be raised. This might be accomplished, for instance, thanks to the now emerging preconditions for modernization of

industrial plants and for replacement of machines and equipment, worn out to an extent greater than anywhere else in the country.

Nor is that all. Kazimierz Lasota, a milling-machine operator in the Zremb Plants at Makow Mazowiecki, put it very clearly: "Virtually all over the workplace there is waste of raw materials and components, thriftlessness, lack of discipline, and particularism." Because of that--such was not only his opinion--just payment for work well done should become the prevailing principle. Sloppy performance, fairly satisfactory production for export and slapdash deliveries for the domestic market can be tolerated no longer.

Not only the existing reserves, but above all the most urgent social needs will determine the province's course of development. They include housing construction and promotion of education and health services. How painful the shortages in these areas are can be deduced from the penultimate place the province occupies nationwide as far as indices of doctors and hospital beds are concerned. The speakers pointed out that to improve the situation, investment funds should be directed toward those targets where the most rapid and tangible progress can be achieved; the maintenance of the already existing assets should be improved alongside increased voluntary social actions and initiatives; all party members should assume a prominent place in their implementation.

This is not merely wishful thinking. Tadeusz Laskowski from the Ostroleka Power Station, speaking on behalf of his party organization, called on all party members, employees' self-management bodies, all the work forces and plant managers, to support the construction of a provincial hospital. He explained that the power station labor force has already contributed 1 million zlotys of its profits for this vital project.

The conference participants decided that the concern for high ideological commitment of the party rank and file, for the moral level of all PZPR members, is and should remain the top priority issue, of decisive import for the accomplishment of socioeconomic targets and the prevention of future crisis phenomena. They demanded therefore that all occurrences of formalism, of sham activity, and of party pomp and "liturgy," be removed without fail from party life. All party organizations should operate according to the principles of integrity and steadfastness in assessment, of determined opposition to all attempts to downplay the murky sides and the shortcomings which still appear in our real life--those problems were raised, inter alia, by Franciszek Moszczynski, a dispatcher in the Ostroleka Celuloza Factory. All such occurrences and attitudes should be called by their proper name. The working-class character of our party--he added--should be maintained at all cost. The quantitative representation of workers in the party committees is not important by itself; what matters above all is the actual link between the party and the workers' communities. That would provide the surest safeguard that the target we are setting up today will be realistic.

During the debate Wladzimirz Mokrzyszczak, member of the Politiburo, and PZPR Central Committee secretary, took the floor.

Comrade Mokrzyszczak's Contribution

On the eve of the end of the outgoing term we set up for ourselves exceptionally important and ambitious targets. We have tried to accomplish, as well as possible and as effectively as possible, the tasks assumed during the 1981 campaign, viewed in the light of the Ninth Party Congress and of the resolutions voted by the subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

Looking back at those difficult days, we have several essential questions to answer: What are the targets we have been striving for? Where have we failed, and why? What is the source of our shortcomings and failures, and what is to be done in order to overcome them effectively?

While reviewing the past and analyzing the present, one has to prognosticate as well--this is necessary if we wish to profit by our experience, and in our present everyday political activity to draw conclusions from the recent period, if we wish to learn from our mistakes, in order, *inter alia*, to avoid committing the same mistakes again.

There is no doubt that the development of our sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland will be shaped, above all, by:

--the effective implementation of the economic reform and its impact on overcoming the present crisis, the state of the market, the level of wages and cost of living, the material condition of the working people;

--the development of the trade union movement, employees' self-management, as well as other social organizations and associations, and their impact on shaping the climate and human relations in workplaces and communities, on meeting the social and financial needs of the employees, on shaping the reconciliation movement in the broadest meaning of the term;

--the course and the effects of the upcoming political campaigns;

--the condition of state-church relations, and in particular the attitude of the church toward current social issues, as well as toward the state and party policies;

--the further development of the international situation and the enhancement of Poland's place in Europe and in the world;

--the activities of the antisocialist opposition inside the country and abroad, as well as our effective countermeasures.

Those factors will shape the course and the substance of our party work and influence its effectiveness. We have, therefore, to watch them and to take them into account. Many comrades who took the floor during this debate have demonstrated this mode of thinking.

Inside the party the outgoing term has brought about many changes for the better. The party has rebuilt its ideological identity, gained inner strength, became reborn in action. It has been a prolonged political, psychosocial and organizational process.

We have remained a mass party. We have 2,200,000 members and candidates. New people have joined the party: since August 1980 there have been over 52,000 of them.

One of the most valuable lessons we have learned during the difficult period of recent years exhorts us "to stay closer to the working people and their concerns." We cannot wait till the workers come to us--we have to go out and meet them halfway. The strength of the party stems, above all, from its close links with the workers' class, with the working people. While party organizations have become more sensitive to those issues, a lot still remains to be done in this area. People judge the party according to the work of those elements which are closest to them, and that means, above all, basic and workshop organizations and party groups. Those primary elements of the party clearly have gained strength, in particular in the big centers of the industrial working class. We have gradually advanced from aktiv group operations to "party-wide" operations. The activity of individual members is improving systematically, albeit too slowly.

Since the Ninth Congress we have modified our party work. We do not conceal our difficulties and troubles, we promote the democratic style of party work, we have rejected improper methods and mechanisms. We publish our resolutions, programs and schedules of their implementation, we systematically report on their fulfillment to the entire party and to the nation. We put particular stress on maintaining close links between members of central bodies and the work forces, for the first time in the history of our party we have introduced the principle of consulting drafts of more significant documents and decisions. Those have not been, and are not, spectacular gestures for propaganda effect. We have done so, and we continue to do so, in order to warn the nation and the party, and to prevent their going through another round of painful experience.

We have already recognized our weaknesses and shortcomings. The 12th and 13th plenary sessions of the Central Committee were a major breakthrough in overcoming ideological negligence, but the level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness of some party members is still too low, and the ideopolitical training in some party elements remains unsatisfactory. Hence, not all the organizations are capable of waging a fight against the political adversary.

Not all the party committees and organizations know how to act offensively, how to anticipate the emergence of dangerous phenomena and to prevent conflict; too often they rely on decisions by central authorities to solve problems which arise in their workplaces.

We are still learning how to work directly with the people, including nonparty members, we still keep learning the everyday steadfastness, not limited to the working day or to party meetings alone; party members, for instance, are still not sufficiently effective in the place of their residence.

During the new term we have to stabilize the quantitative growth of the party; without slowing down the process of purging our ranks of useless and passive people we have to work systematically in order to prepare and to admit to the party valuable candidates. What matters above all is to shape a genuine

working-class nucleus inside the party; workers should account for the most numerous group in the party, and together with peasants provide the decisive category among the PZPR members and candidates. We also aim at safeguarding generational continuity in the development of the party, at strengthening party influence among young people.

This great task for the immediate future has been confirmed and understood during the ongoing reports-elections campaign.

The atmospheres of the present campaign, its nature and tone, are diametrically opposed to those which prevailed 2 and 1/2 years ago. It has been another step in the course of strengthening the party, in rebuilding its position and its authority among the work forces. However, additional steps are needed, perhaps quicker and more consistent ones. To provide inspiration for the work of our basic party organizations, to help them to implement their tasks, and to call them to account--this is the simplified blueprint for our party committees in their work with the subordinate organizations.

It is necessary to demand of all party members, full-time party workers, and the leading cadres high ethical and political requirements, to correct--by personnel decisions as well--all the irregularities and deviations from our principles. We have to exact from our cadres not just loyalty and verbal "agreement" with party guidelines, but also a critical and creative approach to reality, involvement, and enterprise.

We should also permanently look for effective means of winning over the population for more active participation in the movement of national rebirth, in elements of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON]. That concerns, in particular, workers and young people. We have to keep in mind that national reconciliation is not a one-time compact; it matures throughout a prolonged and complex sociopolitical process, and the party is morally responsible for its progress.

There is still a need for waging active struggle against the political adversary, to undermine his influence, to unmask the true aims of his activity and his political ancestry, to reveal those who support him.

Day in, and day out, the PZPR has to improve its functioning as the party of social justice, of struggle and reconciliation.

In the second part of his contribution, W. Mokrzyszczak reviewed various specific issues raised during the debate, and presented some current key socioeconomic problems.

"The outgoing term in your province and the present conference," he said in his summation, "indicate that your party organization has gained the ability to work with people, that it is sensitive to their needs, and it has learned to assess precisely the political phenomena and to draw the correct conclusions. All comrades of the Ostroleka provincial party organization have earned the highest regard for their significant contribution, which provides solid grounds for

setting up even more difficult but realistic targets."

Henryk Szablak Reelected First Secretary

In a secret ballot the provincial committee, the provincial party control commission, and the provincial audit commission were then elected. Henryk Szablak was reelected first secretary of the provincial committee.

The conference then approved a programmatic resolution which sets up in detail the tasks of the provincial party organization for 1984-86.

12485
CSO: 2600/721

POLAND

RESULTS OF LOMZA PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTION CONFERENCE REPORTED

Account of Proceedings

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 23 Jan 84 pp 1, 2, 3

[Report prepared by Nina Omelczenko, Jerzy Brodziuk and Wawrzyniec Klosinski]

[Excerpts] "The party leads and serves the working people." That was the slogan under which the 4th Provincial PZPR Reports-Election Conference deliberated in Lomza on Saturday (21 Jan 84). The meeting was attended by 243 delegates, representing the 16,000 members of the provincial party organization. Veterans of the workers' movement were also present.

The following persons came to the meeting: Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Central Committee's Socio-Occupational Department; Eugeniusz Trajer, deputy minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry; Czeslaw Gartych, chairman of the ZSL (United Peasant Party) Provincial Committee; Marian Mieszkowski, chairman of the SD (Democratic Party) Provincial Committee; and Edward Wrobel, chairman of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) Provincial Council.

Before the main part of the conference was begun, a pleasant ceremony took place: the awarding of decorations to veterans of the workers' movement. Teodor Kulczynski received the Commanders Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland, and Wladyslaw Niksa, Kazimierz Szulinski and Jozef Zdancewicz were awarded the Cavaliers Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland.

The first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee (KW), Wlodzimierz Michaluk, delivered the reports-program paper of the outgoing executive board (a summary appears below).

Discussion

Maria Skorupa from Szepietowo spoke first. She discussed in detail the creation of organizational structures in the movement for national conciliation. In many

regions, including in Szepietowo, where the Solidarity extreme was very active, the idea of conciliation had to surmount a barrier of distrust and indifference. The beginnings of PRON consisted of work in the subjects commissions which took up the problems of the greatest importance to the community, the acceptance of complaints from residents. The settlement of each complaint reinforces the opinion that evil, waste, poor management and hopelessness are not inherent in the system but in the lack of responsibility by specific people.

Next the Lomza governor, Jerzy Zientara, described the province's socioeconomic problems and the measures being taken to solve them. Recently a perceptible growth in agricultural commodity production has occurred, although in many areas, for example, in hog raising, the results are far from satisfactory. The main task for the immediate future will be to achieve a systematic growth in crop and fodder production in order to meet the needs of animal production, production facilities must be developed, and more work should be done in land reclamation. There will also be some progress in the development of the processing industry. This year the construction of the mill in Grajewo will be completed and the dairy in Wysokie Mazowiecki will be expanded. Industry in the region achieved a production growth of over 18 percent this year, mainly due to higher labor productivity. A few, but significant on the provincial scale, plants did not produce the envisaged results. With the support of self-managements, party and union organizations, greater attempts should be made to manage raw materials and energy more economically and to seek better technical and organizational solutions.

At the center of the administrative authorities' attention is construction. During the next 2 years construction of 5,400 apartments is planned, of which 3,200 will be in the socialized sector.

In addition, the speaker brought up problems of development of the health services, consumer goods, education and culture.

Waldemar Swirgon's Speech

The argument used most often in support of the thesis that the party today is not the same as it was in June 1981, Waldemar Swirgon said at the beginning of his speech, is the assertion that it is smaller in numbers but is qualitatively better prepared to perform its tasks. This is true, but it is also a simplification.

Despite losses of large groups of members, it is still large enough to fulfill its tasks. In the history of the Polish workers' movement, the party's strength, its significance, the fact that it led the workers, the working people, and entire groups of society, was due not to its numerical size but to its social program, ideological unity, and political discipline. These are determined by the program which obtains support outside the party, in mass social organizations to which several million people in Poland belong.

The progress attained in shaping the party's importance, its condition, is designated by the total sum of the experience obtained in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the

Central Committee. This is not an announcement that it will be done, nor is it a public promise of change of this or that matter for the better, but it says that at least some of it will be done. Let us take some examples from various fields of experience: the Teacher's Charter, economic reform, new principles of agricultural policy, the entire block of laws on a socialist enterprise, workers' self-management, and class trade unions. Thus the decisions of the Ninth Congress were executed and became a public fact.

The next element which indicates that the party can be regarded both by ourselves as well as by our compatriots as a whole as different, is the continuity and lastingness of the political line. Since 1981 we have passed through three totally different political eras: an open political struggle combined with the threat of counterrevolution, a period of martial law, and the present phase of normalization and elimination of temporary legal solutions introduced for the period of the socioeconomic crisis. We did not yield to the urge to make it more comfortable for ourselves, to revise, during martial law, even one of the points of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress or the plenary meetings. We did not revoke any decision which within some sections of the party or society could have appeared as having been made under duress. This must inspire respect and gives us a basis for appealing to the broad circles of society. We have proved that we are a force that keeps its promises.

But we must reply, both to ourselves and to others, to a question which is asked by certain circles, and mainly the youth. Why is the crisis still going on? Why, in contrast to other periods of breakdowns and social tensions which lasted several, or at the most, a dozen or so, years--are we entering into the fourth year of still-continuing open conflicts? For 3 years we have been talking about overcoming the crisis and yet in many areas it is still continuing.

In formulating a reply to a question put in just that way we must relate it to a point of reference: the dates which are regarded as critical in our history (1956-1967, 1970, 1980-1981). We can isolate three basic differences which characterize the change in conditions which make it difficult for us to end the phase of open crisis still affecting us. First, the completely different international situation. While previous crises occurred against a background of peaceful demonstrations, the conclusion of international agreements, the granting of credits by the Western states--the 1980-1981 period coincided with one of the strongest tests of strength between the East and the West, and the transferring of these tests to the economic arena. The fact that Poland did not become--and it could have--the Lebanon of Central Europe, is to the historical credit of the party, which even its political opponents are not able to undermine. The second feature which makes the last crisis different is the consequence of the economic policy of the 1970's, the not-fully-justified economic cooperation with the West, mainly on credit, which allowed the centers of economic resources in the capitalist world to have a direct influence on the amount of our production in many fields and on our consumer-goods market--in a word on everything which some citizens believe to be the principal measure of the ability of a socialist state to exist and develop. The next distinguishing feature stems from the disregard, by the previous leadership, of political antisocialist groupings, organized into expanded though informal structures. They very quickly penetrated the main elements of the workers' protest, bringing

false socialist and class awareness into the workers' ranks. For the first time in the history of our crises, public dissatisfaction was led not by leadership groups spontaneously formed, but by an opposition looking for a way to take over authority by treating the workers' surge as tool for its own purposes. Unfortunately, this left a mark in the consciousness of the working people that is hard to erase. It made it more difficult to obtain confidence. Today people are waiting for facts, for confirmation that the program will be put into practice. The party wants to fulfill these expectations within the framework of a program which the Ninth Congress called a program of socialist renewal.

Then the Central Committee secretary, in reference to delegates' speeches, discussed some problems of culture, the countryside and agriculture, and economic reform.

In the name of the central authorities the speaker gave the Conference and the newly elected authorities of the provincial organization his wishes for consistent implementation of the resolutions that were passed.

Elections and Resolution

The delegates elected new party authorities: a Provincial Committee, a Provincial Audit Committee, and a Provincial Party Control Commission. Włodzimierz Michaluk was reelected first secretary of the PZPR KW in Lomza by secret ballot.

At the first plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee a 17-member executive board was elected, composed of: Henryk Białobrzeski, Stefania Broniszewska, Mieczysław Czerniawski, Wiesława Glowacz, Ryszard Januszczak, Jan Kowalski, Stanisław Krasowski, Czesław Krawczyk, Stefan Krystosiak, Kazimierz Kryłowski, Jerzy Laskowski, Witold Malinowski, Włodzimierz Michaluk, Sławomir Niemyjski, Jan Piotrowski, Jan Ryskiewicz and Marek Strzalinski.

The functions of KW secretaries were entrusted to: Henryk Białobrzeski, Mieczysław Czerniawski, Jan Ryskiewicz, and Marek Strzalinski.

Elections were also held for the Provincial Party Control Commission (WKKP) and the Provincial Audit Commission (WKR).

At a meeting of the WKKP, at which 31 members were present, a seven-member presidium was elected, composed of: Jerzy Baczewski, Stanisław Czolczynski, Tadeusz Karczewski, Eugenia Konciewicz, Janusz Pikulinski, Jerzy Sulewski, and Mirosław Szalunas. Mirosław Szalunas will again act as chairman of the WKKP.

Ireneusz Majewski remained chairman of the WKR. The presidium will be elected at the next WKR plenary meeting.

The conference passed a program of action specifying the tasks of the provincial organization for the coming years. The Provincial Committee has been obliged to strengthen the party provincial organization ideologically and politically, to consolidate national conciliation, and to consistently control the implementation of the 3-year socioeconomic plan.

The conference in Lomza received a telegram from Wilno with best wishes from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Lomza Lands have been linked for many years by ties of friendly cooperation.

First Secretary's Speech

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 23 Jan 84 p 2

[Abridged version of speech by PZPR KW first secretary Wlodzimierz Michaluk:
"In Service to Society"]

[Text] The term of office of the provincial party authorities, Comrade Michaluk said in opening his speech, began just before the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, when it was necessary to look for ways in which the complex political, social and economic situation in our country could be normalized. Our additional concern during that period was to find ways to restore the badly shattered confidence of society in the party.

The Ninth Congress program and its resolutions brought great hopes and optimism into the ranks of the aktiv and the workers. But it turned out later that they also increased the activities of the internal and external political enemies. It became clear that more than just the satisfaction of rightful complaints on the part of the working people was at stake. Very openly, a struggle began for authority, for the political system, for the fate of the country and its allies. The party could not stand by and lose the struggle. It was simply a matter of finding an answer to the question as to how this struggle could be won.

Practice showed that the only correct solution was the declaration of martial law in December 1981, and the legal control specific to this state of martial law.

Within the party a period of struggle began to ensure that martial law in the country not last a day long than necessary, and that under these particular conditions the economy and the sociopolitical atmosphere gain the most. The envisaged goals were gradually reached. Because of this it became possible to suspend martial law after a year, and lift it entirely in July of last year.

It may be said, therefore, that during the past term we had to deal with a rapidly changing sociopolitical and economic situation in the country. We began our term during a period of stormy tensions and are completing it at the beginning of the processes of stabilization.

Comrade Michaluk then stressed that the experience of this period cemented the party ranks, and formed the basis for the restoration of a Marxist-Leninist character to the party, the democratic mechanisms of its functioning, and the fulfillment of the leadership function in society.

The party, in putting its internal affairs in order, is gradually beginning to rebuild its authority and trust. This can be measured by the growing

number of people who are making inquiries and the letters coming in. This is also confirmed by the number of candidates entering into our ranks. Although in 1981 we did not record the acceptance of any candidates, in 1982 we accepted 62, and in 1983, 137. Of the 137, 50 were accepted during the reports-election campaign.

The growing independence and political maturity of the party members and organizations is attested by the fact that specific proposals have been made, primarily by the individual in his own name and that of his community.

In accordance with the spirit of the Ninth Congress and the requirements of socialist renewal, we have tried to remember the party's service role to society. We showed this in our everyday activity by creating a proper atmosphere for the development and stimulation of all forms of self-government, new trade unions, social organizations, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

With party consistency, along with our friends, the ZSL (United Peasant Party) and SD (Democratic Party), we also involved ourselves with other fields of socioeconomic life: for example, improvement in the functioning of the health service, housing construction, working conditions, services and the functioning of trade, and the development of agriculture and the food economy.

We have worked out a system for controlling the implementation of the motions passed by the POP (Primary Party Organizations), the territorial echelons, and the statutory executive organs of the provincial echelons.

In sum, all of these actions effectively supported the process of shaping, in the province, the proper social atmosphere, real understanding, and calm solving of problems relating to production and living conditions. The result of an atmosphere so shaped is the successful conclusion of the year 1983. In comparison with last year, our industry attained a growth rate of sold production amounting to 118.3 percent, while employment grew scarcely 1.1 percent, and labor productivity increased as much as 17 percent.

The farm food-processing industry showed a particular growth rate, which is important for the restoration of market balance. For example, we produced a record amount of glucose, of which our province is the only producer in the country. Basic production in construction last year grew 16.6 percent, and labor productivity 3.9 percent. In socialized construction, a fact worth noting is that 81,600 square meters of usable floor space in apartments was completed, which is 4.1 percent more than the previous year.

Unfortunately, not all construction investments are implemented so successfully. We have delays of around 100 million zlotys in our largest task, the Provincial Group Hospital, and a further amount of about 150 million zlotys from planned outlays for the current year thus far has not yet been committed. There are also difficulties in expanding the regional hospital in Wysokie Mazowieckie, and also in adapting facilities in the provincial group clinics.

Generally speaking, it was also a good year for agriculture, particularly in production and in the procurement of milk and grains, and also from the

standpoint of further improvement in availability of the basic means of production. In sum, the province successfully fulfilled all of the basic economic tasks set for it in the annual plan.

We are very happy that recently we have observed a renewal of civic initiative. I believe that today's conference is the best occasion on which to express our praise to the people in the Lomza province for their diligence and patriotic commitment in surmounting the problems which still harass us.

The trade union movement, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and the self-governing organizations are gradually developing. But the party elements and echelons do not always knowledgeably cooperate with these organizations. There are too few party members in them, and they often present only their own personal point of view, without consulting this viewpoint with their home organization.

Traditionalism and the pretense of activity still encumber our work. Many collectives and activists are satisfied with passing a resolution, organizing a coordinating-disposing conference, or issuing recommendations, but forget that this is only the beginning of the implementation of an intent, that the successive elements in this process are the creation of conditions for the implementation of the resolution that was passed, the appointment of specific executors, the setting of deadlines, the supervision of progress and the assessment of the results that were attained. Only this kind of procedure will make our work credible.

Ostensible activity in the sociopolitical sphere has a way of transferring itself to the economic sphere. In the middle of last year, the executive board of the provincial committee approved the thrift program which we accepted, recommending also that it be consistently implemented and that preliminary assessments of the attained results be made. But not all of the organizations complied with this, and the NIK (Supreme Chamber of Control) inspection showed a great many errors, and activity that was only ostensible. This also applies to anti-inflation programs and other economic-organizational measures.

Another example is the implementation of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum's resolution on youth. Thus far there has been a great deal of scurrying around, but there have been few results, both in the work of the party echelon and in the state administration or youth organizations.

Today, Comrade Michaluk then said, we are confronted with a severe conflict between immediate needs on the one hand, and future tasks on the other hand. We must not allow the arduous, difficult, and often painful problems of today to relegate our obligation of thinking about the Poland of tomorrow to second place. We must think and decide now about the future of the Fatherland, its position tomorrow in the world, and we must invest our work as well as our means in this. We would like to have this truth understood by the youth, who have a natural right and privilege to find their own way on life's path. But this search should be accompanied by the awareness that conditions today, both externally and internally, make it impossible to expect ready luxuries. Very simply, the youth should be the co-creators of its own future conditions. In

the 40-year history of our People's Fatherland we had many proofs of this. We must return to the good traditions.

The reality of these goals is inherent in the application of economic reform, whose basic principles come down to an improvement in management by economical and efficient use of raw and other materials and energy, and a reduction in manufacturing costs. It is also essential that increases in wages be tied to an increase in labor productivity. This should help to slow down the processes of inflation and restore monetary-market balance.

It is our job to be completely knowledgeable about the atmospheres and attitudes prevailing in every workers group and to adapt party activity accordingly. Very simply, the party organization should be with the people, stand in defense of the right solutions, and be a wise, experienced, collective wisdom of the working class, and a just mediator.

Going on to the problems of agriculture, the speaker said: most of the tasks in this field of the economy are being implemented correctly. But there are matters which must be settled better and more quickly. These include the necessity of finally solving the problem of conserving water-reclamation equipment. It is essential that broad biological progress be applied to farm production. We must also change the attitudes of the farmers to artificial fertilizers. Our agriculture already has a large potential of farm machinery and equipment, but the use of this potential is not always the best.

It is true that we do not have a party organization in every village, but we have friends and many committed partners, including an entire system of self-governing organizations affiliating almost all of the farmers, a considerable number of village women, and youth. It is important, therefore, to develop effective methods of politically influencing the functioning of this movement in the village community.

In the practical application of farm policy we should give proof to everyone who is able and wants to work in farming that no one will interfere with him when he is working creatively to multiply food reserves. On the contrary, he can always count on the comprehensive help and care of the people's state. That is how the workers-peasants alliance is expressed today.

Shortening the period of escape from the economic crisis to the maximum is the crucial task for the immediate future. The shorter this period is, the sooner we will implement the social concern for respect of economic laws and the principles of thrifty management, of efficient management of time, and of quality of production.

In concluding his speech Comrade Michaluk said: We end our term at the beginning of 1984. This is a special year, the 40th year of People's Poland. It will be marked by important political events.

During the first quarter of the year the National Party Conference will be held, which will examine the theses of the future program of action by the PZPR and make an ideological-program declaration, "What Are We Fighting For, Where Are We Going."

In the middle of the year we will have elections to the people's councils. This will be an important task for the party and its allies. The results of these elections will be successive proof of the strength of our political influence and our ability to lead. It will be the duty of every party member, every party organization and echelon, in close cooperation with the other political parties, to popularize the principles of the new electoral regulations, nominate as candidates for councillors the people who are the most committed, who enjoy real authority in the community, and to create the proper climate for efficient preparation for elections, and the conduct of the elections themselves.

We face many problems and tasks. And so we wish for ourselves, comrades, that the year 1984 bring us hope and faith that no one interfere in the solving of this problems, that no one try to sow confusion and unrest, and that wisdom prevail on the matter of peace in the world.

Let us wish for ourselves that the circle of people of goodwill will become larger—that the front of national conciliation will become more equalized and stronger. In the interest of all of us and of the Fatherland, this is simply essential.

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POLAND

WEEKLY CONSIDERS TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

AU081624 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 4 Mar 84 p 4

[Boleslaw Porowski article: "There Is a Chance"]

[Excerpts] At the end of 1983, trade unions had over 3.8 million members, and at the moment, working on the assumption that the trend of the last few months of 1983 has been maintained, they must have well over 4 million members. This number also includes old age and disability pensioners who maintained, and rightly, the right to belong to trade unions. But even taking this fact into consideration, we can still make a realistic estimate that at least every fourth worker of the socialized economy is already a trade union member today.

Is this, therefore, a large or a small number? It all depends on the point of reference that we take. If we compare these new figures with the state of the trade union's membership in former times then--it is a small number. Before August 1980 trade unions had almost 12 million members. In 1981 the membership of Solidarity was declared at about 8 million, with a further 3.5 million in branch unions and a little more than half a million in autonomous trade unions.

Before August 1980 people joined trade unions as if by habit. However, their joining did not go hand in hand with the feeling that they belonged to the trade union movement, let alone with the feeling they could identify with its activities, because it had, to a greater extent, a showy and a superficial nature, and this was frequently not through the fault of the trade union members, who had no significant influence on the real role of the trade union movement. This was because it resulted from the obligatory idea of the way in which the sociopolitical affairs of our country had to be organized.

The apathy of the trade union members gave way to excessively aroused hopes and beliefs in the all-powerful nature of the new Solidarity trade union. An explosion of enthusiasm produced a rather widespread and spontaneous influx into the newly created union, all the more because Solidarity promised not only to guarantee subjectivity [podmiotowosc] to working people but also because it wanted to quickly transform a country plagued with crisis into a second Japan. Let me add that these demands were effectively made by Solidarity even when they were evidently striking at the vital interests of the working people. However, in the course of time, in the next few months, weeks and days, the millions of

Solidarity members experienced increasing disappointments and perplexities, as well as new and not at all uplifting experiences. However, people's trust in the union was so strong that they found it impossible to believe that the union was being led astray toward anticomunism.

Today, people join the trade union movement after great thought. No longer is there the hurrah optimism or the euphoria that caused the ranks of the former trade unions to grow as if on order to do so. Today, trade unions develop gradually--but systematically. During the first 6 months of 1983 some 300,000-370,000 new members joined the new unions every month nationwide. Later on, the rate fell a little and was maintained at the 100,000-150,000 per month level. People generally join, therefore, on the basis of personal decisions to do so, ones that are preceded by close observation of the new reality and thorough consideration.

Trade union activists pursue a rather low-key promotion campaign to recruit new members, one that is aimed to convince people that it is still worth giving the unions yet another try or even gambling on them.

Statistics show us that the slowest development the trade union movement is making is among young workers. This fact is interpreted in various ways. A fairly popular theory is that young people do not throng to the trade unions because it is they who were the most badly disappointed since they trusted the leaders of Solidarity the most. It is they, therefore, who are taking the longest to regain their mental balance. Another school of thought adds that Solidarity's slogans have become so deeply embedded in the minds of young people that even today they are not prone to accept a compromise with objective necessities and reality. Yet another school of theorists stresses that young people are very sensitive to the increasing chasm between awakened aspirations and the decreasing possibilities of implementing them, so losing any kind of hope whatsoever while at the same time assuming an attitude of extreme disinclination. There are certain observations that people have made and that are to a certain extent accurate ones. However, I would be cautious with generalizations, because it is difficult to estimate how much and to what extent these factors decide on the youth's attitude to trade unions, and therefore, to an organization that is in the nature of things set up to provide help with the resolution of the vital work and living problems of the generation that is entering adult life. Are we dealing with our own kind of paradox? This matter looks somewhat different if we consider that in the main, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth provides similar help with overcoming the many difficulties facing young people in their start in life. Why, therefore, should, for example, the members of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth throng to the new trade unions if the programs of these organizations are not complementary to one another in the social sphere; or if one can settle some matter within the framework of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, then why should one join the trade unions? This is a kind of reasoning that is not divested of rational thinking. Some people say that joining a union is its own kind of political declaration. Perhaps they are right, but I am precisely trying to show that the young working people of today burned their fingers rather badly in the past and learned to make objective calculations very thoroughly and exceptionally early on. I think it is necessary to take this circumstance into consideration also by looking for the reasons for this and not another attitude taken by young workers to the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is developing unevenly. There are industrial voivodships, like for example Katowice Voivodship, where the signs that workers have organized themselves into trade unions are high--reaching 50 percent of the labor force, and there are similarly industrial voivodships in which only every third worker from the socialized economy belongs to a union--such as Walbrzych Voivodship. Whereas in the typically agricultural voivodship of Biala-Podlaska almost every other worker is a union member, in Nowo Sacz Voivodship hardly every fourth worker is a member.

There is a belief that trade unions develop relatively slowly in large plants. However, this is only a half-truth. In the Huta Kosciuszko steelworks almost 50 percent of the workers belong to the unions, while at the Huta Baildon steelworks only a few less belong, but in Huta Jednosc 30 percent of the workers have joined, and a little over every fourth worker belongs at the Huta Katowice steelworks. The same branch, the same region, but different membership indicators. In mining there is an even greater difference: ranging from 85 percent of the work force of the Czerwone Zaglebie Coal Mine to 23 percent at the Lenin Coal Mine. It is also difficult to reconcile the fact that every other worker at the Starachowice Truck Factory belongs to a union while at the FSM car factory in Bielsko-Biata, every third worker does. One could have explained it by the age structure of the work force had it not been for the fact that at the automobile factory the trade union indicator is not high while the majority of the plant's workers are, after all, members of a rather middle-aged generation.

The experts on the issue claim that the trade union movement is slowest to develop in small institutions and plants, in the cooperative movement, in health service centers, in planning offices and banks, as well as in the SKR [not further identified] and so on, everywhere where the predominant role is played by the chief and the supervisors--where it is the most difficult to share influence and power with the so-called social factors, in places where the party organization, as well as Solidarity, operated on orders of the office chief.

Various critics have told the trade union movement that it has lost its worker nature due to its present social make-up. However, it appears that this is an empty accusation, because more than 60 percent of its members are workers by profession and this more or less covers the employment structure in Poland. Also--something that will surely shock many critics--workers are well represented in the authorities of trade union organizations, with a 40-50 percent average. Besides which, it is not true that this movement has become dominated by white-collar workers.

Statistics also debunk another myth that has been formed by political opponents, that trade unions are as if dominated by party members. What is the truth? In the many talks I have had with trade union activists I often heard the accusation that it was quite the contrary--that the participation of party organizations in the renewal of the trade unions was insufficient, while party activists have replied to this accusation by saying that they did not want to be accused of the fact that party unions were being formed.

The trade union movement is already faced with the tasks of a new era. The government has, for example, declared its will to consult with the unions about

its planned decisions on matters that are of particular importance to working people. It even made public the subjects that the consultations will concern. Social opinion will be grounded in expecting these consultations to be effective. Trade unions will consequently have to quickly and soundly prepare themselves to undertake the government declaration to meet with social expectations. This even implies the need to accelerate the process of consolidating the organizational nature of the movement and creating an effective all-union representation, because it will not be possible to represent the opinions of the working people while the unions continue to be dispersed. The optimistic part of all this is the fact that the majority of trade union activists have perceived this dependence. There is, therefore, a chance of creating a strong trade union movement.

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MICHALEK DISCUSSES TOP PARTY ORGANS' WORK STYLE

PM260823 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 14 Mar 84 pp 3, 4

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek by Bernard Walenski--date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Walenski: To return to your edifice in Nowy Swiat [Central Committee headquarters] the Ninth Congress affirmed in its resolution that it "attaches great importance to the method of operation of the highest party authorities--that is, the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Central Committee Secretariat--which is to be fully democratic, collegial, open and subject to effective control by the lower party echelons...." There has been little improvement as regards that open nature of the activity at top party levels. Communiques issued after the Politburo sessions are all laconic, and they do not give the average party member any indication of the extent to which the mode of operation of the Politburo and the Central Committee secretariat is democratic or collegial. In addition, the PZPR statute obliges all Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries to declare their attitude toward the most essential problems facing the party and the whole country, and it also gives them the right to apply, when necessary, to the Central Committee for the latter's authoritative opinion. We are now past the half-way mark in the current term of office, and still there have been no applications of this kind. Does that mean that we have achieved a total unanimity of opinion among our party leadership, or have those statutory regulations become a dead letter?

Michalek: I can assure you that none of the Politburo members or Central Committee secretaries question the Ninth Congress resolutions. Consequently, if there are any differences of opinion between them--and these do indeed occur--they involve their answers to the question "How to get things done" and not "what is to be done?" As the latter is already defined in the congress resolution. There are different "driving techniques." You can even get from Warsaw to Opole by different routes. It is the same with the problem you have mentioned. In short, it looks like this: We define our goal first and then we think about how to reach it. And it is here that differences of opinion appear, but these are by no means mutually antagonistic. This is why there has been no need so far to turn to the Central Committee for a verdict. As regards Politburo sessions, these are really thoroughly democratic in character, and in every one of the more complicated cases each member is obliged to present his own opinion.

Walenski: ...And that is usually similar to the stand taken by the first secretary....

Michalek: The thing is that the first secretary is never the first to speak and his standpoint is not known until the very end. I know that there is a lot of gossip on the subject, but the truth is that the decisions made by the Politburo, together with the way in which they are made and the way in which Politburo sessions are conducted disprove the allegations of orders being issued from above and invalidate the complaint that we have a military man for our first secretary. There is, however, something else: an obligation to put in a lot of solid preparation for each session. This is a labor-intensive process as we get a great deal of material on each subject and are under an obligation to acquaint ourselves with it thoroughly. As regards communiquees issued after our sessions, these contain the most important essence, that is, the subject of the deliberations and the stand adopted with regard to it. But, to be quite frank, I am not at all convinced that these communiquees are widely read.

Walenski: Perhaps this is because they are so laconic?

Michalek: I do not think so. At my meetings--and I have no shortage of these--I get lots of questions indicating that even our party activists do not read the press.

Walenski: A large proportion of them do, however, regularly follow everything that goes on within the party. They are concerned for it and they are also afraid. They are, for example, afraid of a return to centralistic and anti-democratic tendencies which were, after all, acknowledged by the Ninth Congress to be an essential contributory factor in the crisis. And, what is worse, there are reasons to fear that. For instance, the election--inconsistent with the PZPR statute--of Comrade Henryk Bednarski, who had never been a Central Committee candidate member, to the Central Committee and the subsequent entrusting him with the function of Central Committee secretary. Are those fears justified?

Michalek: There cannot be any central authority without centralism. Nowhere in the world is there any party in which every single decision is first consulted with every single party member. This is the purpose of electing the authorities for a given limited term of office: To have, for that period, our own decision-making and executive apparatus. The PZPR Central Committee operates in a very intensive and, I maintain, democratic way. And it does not just mean the plenums. We have introduced consultation with Central Committee members. These take place in group sessions and they not only provide committee members with an opportunity to speak out but also with an opportunity to speak more freely as there are no press or television reporters present and, hence, there is no psychological pressure which some people find disturbing. Also operating are the Central Committee commissions devoted to particular problems--and some of these are exceptionally active. They are attended by other participants besides Central Committee members, and thus they provide an opportunity for other party members who are especially competent in their particular fields to present their standpoints and submit their recommendations.

Walenski: Recently a worker from Nysa, also a Central Committee member, complained that it was precisely these experts from special purpose commissions who overwhelm the workers with their learnedness and thus discourage them for speaking out during their sessions....

Michalek: As regards the commission which deals with agricultural matters, I cannot agree with this accusation. It has become customary there to confront everything that is being undertaken and planned in our agriculture with what is actually happening in the field. And there have been many instances of academicians' recommendations being brought down to "ground level." But even here you have to be well prepared. I notice that many members of that commission have a large store of theoretical knowledge despite their lack of formal education. It is evident from what they say that they consult other rich sources besides the materials we provide them with. At any rate, one thing is certain: Sessions of the Central Committee commissions are no mere formalities. In addition, other methods of consultation and confrontation of views and opinions have been introduced--for example, the frequent meetings with members of party leadership organized in different socioprofessional milieus. To give you an example, I have just spent 2 days in the Pomerania and Kujawy region--and nobody knows about this as the papers did not mention it. But I spent that time going round factories and sugar refineries, buying--or, rather, attempting to buy--things in stores, eating at restaurants chosen at random along my route, dropping in on parish party committees where the receptionists refused to let me see the party secretaries because the latter were busy.... Is not all this a form of consultation? And let us add to this the unannounced visits made by comrade first secretary....

Walenski: People say: If these visits are unannounced then how do television crews know where to await the general?

Michalek: They do not wait for him on the spot. It goes like this: The preceding day the television crew receive the message, or the instruction (let people call it as they see fit) to be ready at, say, 7 the following morning. In the morning the crew are collected and they then accompany Comrade Jaruzelski. I have gone along on these visits and I did not know, either, where we were going. To give an example: We are all boarding a plane and the plane takes off. I watch the ground below and I realize we are bearing west, but it is only after we have landed that I am told we are the Pila voivodship. And, once we are there, it is all total improvisation.... I will tell you more: If I had really wanted to, I could have found out about our destination the night before. But for what purpose? To let our hosts know? I am well aware that they would then attempt an overnight tidying-up operation and only end up in a total mess. Let us, however, come back to the statute. The Ninth Congress provided for a great many different situations, but life proved to be even more resourceful. It was, for instance, not anticipated that candidate members of party committees--including the Central Committee--might have to be elected in the middle of a term of office, and the method of such election was not prescribed. There was simply a gap there and to fill that gap now is not to bend the statute but to provide for circumstances which were not foreseen before. This is what happened with Comrade Bednarski's election. We could, of course, have entrusted one of the Central Committee members with that function, but one of the main concerns in our party policy is, after all, to fill important posts with the best and most competent

people. And thus, when the need arose to elect a new Central Committee secretary, a number of candidates were nominated and, in a small-scale internal competition, Comrade Bednarski received the highest number of points from among other worthwhile contenders. Consequently, he was proposed for the post and the Central Committee--as an organ competent to decide--accepted his nomination in a democratic decision.

Walenski: About the Central Committee plenums--they are becoming more and more "tame" and there is less and less criticism heard at them....

Michalek: Let us try and remember what used to be subjected to sharpest criticism at the previous plenums, and when that took place. It took place before the PZPR Ninth Congress and immediately after it, and the criticism was directed against the decisions taken by the preceding leadership team. Let us be logical. After all, you cannot absolve the Central Committee members, either as a team or individually, from all responsibility for what is happening now, as all the key decisions--except for the announcement of martial law, which was accepted at the plenum after the fact--were made on the principle of complete collegiality. And we have not managed to develop such a high level of self-criticism as to start protesting against our own decisions. What, on the other hand, do I notice during our plenary meetings? There are many voices which give advice and suggest ways of improving and correcting things. And so we do notice the shortcomings and the imperfections but we view them in a positive way, the way which used to be called constructive.

Walenski: A great number of signals about various irregularities arrive at the central organs from the local structures. How are these signals made use of, what conclusions are drawn from them, and how are they transformed into decisions?

Michalek: Indeed. There is such an inflow of information that it gives you a headache. One's first reflex on getting such information is to check it and to act on it immediately, but for that we would need an enormous staff of operators. But then, if there is an alarming signal coming from a given local structure, it means that the local organs know about the problem and that they ought--as this is within their competence--to intervene there on the spot. It is, however, more convenient to pass it "up the line." There are also matters which really do require intervention by the central organs. These are attended to by employees of our Central Committee departments or passed on to the relevant ministries. Some signals recur again and again. These are used for drawing more general conclusions, and they are often the basis for a political decision concerning the relevant problem undertaken on a nationwide scale. It is the question--and the skill--of arriving at a synthesis of one's conclusions. And here I will, as an example, refer to those laconic--as you call them--communiques issued after the Politburo sessions. A considerable number of topics discussed at these sessions are precisely the result of the recurrent signals from different milieus.

Walenski: In March 1976, when you, comrade secretary, were the director of a state farm complex, you gave an interview to TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in which to the question "Do you, as director, always have to be right?" you answered: "By no means. I allow myself to be persuaded. But do I have to consult every single decision with everybody else? An optimal decision is expected to be made by experts and one consults on matters with them in their narrow circles." That

was the time of the "power-wielding managers." Now we have the time of self-management, democracy, and consultation and you hold an important function in party leadership organs. As a Central Committee secretary are you a democrat or an autocrat?

Michalek: I have already said it: It is impossible to discuss everything with everybody. And I had said the same thing then, had I not? So on the whole I am consistent. There are, however, significant differences concerning the details of the matter. As a director I was individually responsible for everything that was going on in the complex. Here, on the other hand--I mean the agricultural section which I head in the Central Committee--we do not, practically speaking, make any administrative or economic decisions. Nor do we decide about matters to do with cadre recruitment since candidates to such posts as the voivodship committee agriculture secretary are elected on the spot in their own voivodships. You can be an autocrat when you have both the money and the people at your disposal, and a Central Committee secretary has neither. Political decisions of great consequence, including those which concern agriculture, are, in turn, made by the Politburo. As you can see from this, there is little opportunity for autocracy to become established here. I do, on the other hand, make use of my rights and powers in order to be able--when some controversial problematical matters arise--to recruit a group of truly competent people around me, people who either have the necessary knowledge or the necessary competence to take administrative decisions, and to work out with them a project for a concrete solution. But I spoke about this too all those years ago, only it was on a smaller scale.

Walenski: When I was recently talking to a worker member of the Central Committee, Comrade Michal Wozny, I asked him whether he felt satisfaction over the function he performs at this halfway point through the present term of office. Let me repeat that question to you now as a Central Committee secretary.

Michalek: Satisfaction does not come from the function one performs. It comes when one is feeling well, or when the results of one's work are good.

Walenski: We still buy meat on ration cards....

Michalek: Well yes, we still have ration cards for meat, butter, and a few other products. But if we take a look at our none-too-cheerful reality, we will notice that the food market is, after all, the one which is the best supplied and the most stable. The meat situation is the worst, but the truth is that our meat consumption in 1983 was higher than in 1970 when there was no rationing--but neither was there such a lack of stability in the market as we have today, due not only to the fact that there is more money than products, but predominantly to the fact that we have an incorrect ratio of food to other market products. Let us remember how, to encourage people to buy new television sets, traders paid them for returning their old ones. And today? None of the previous leadership team have had to work under such psychological pressure as there is now, since people's expectations as to the rate of improvement are out of proportion to the existing possibilities. In agriculture we have had two relatively good years now. We might therefore have reasons for equally relative satisfaction now, but we only too have 1 year of bad weather for all our earlier results to be ruined. The conclusion? A half-way point is too short a time for either an assessment or for feeling any satisfaction.

Walenski: Thank you for talking to me.

CSO: 2600/829

ORZECHOWSKI DISCUSSES SCOUT UNION TASKS

AU281432 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 26 Mar 84 p 5

[Report signed '(K.Z.)': "We are not Merely Going to be a Decoration...."]

[Text] What should the activities of our scouts during the elections to the people's councils depend on? What should the information about the elections and the way that scouts can participate in them look like when scouts still do not have the right to vote?

The answers to these questions were being sought by a group of scouts and instructors who belong to the Voivodship Councils of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] at a meeting held in Warsaw on 23 March.

It was stated during the discussion on the preparation of the instructor cadres of the Polish Scout Union for the accountability-electoral campaign to the people's councils that, not only are scouts unfamiliar with the electoral laws and the tasks facing councillors--but that the same is true of the majority of society. This is why it is essential to work to disseminate this knowledge and prepare appealing programs as well as attractive propaganda, besides which, the participants of the discussion pointed out, scouts must not be treated subjectively as an ornament to the elections, or as mere uniforms that stand guard outside the polling stations. The elections will be a yardstick and a lesson in the patriotic upbringing of our young people as long as we abandon organizational stereotypes.

Scouts must embark on an active electoral struggle and nominate the most capable and most popular candidates for councillors in a given community.

Professor Marian Orzechowski, general secretary of the PRON National Council, presented the election's political significance and the principles of the electoral laws on election to people's councils.

Marian Orzechowski said that the practical significance of the elections after August 1980 and following the imposition of martial law--transcends its regional scope. It concerns something more than just the official election of primary level people's councils--what it concerns is the creation of favorable or unfavorable conditions for the continuation of the Ninth PZPR Congress policy line. The response to the elections' slogan will be both a reply to this program and confirmation or the rejection of the theory that Poland is "the sick man of Europe," as well as a gauge as to whether Poles are capable of managing their country.

The opposition, as we all know, is calling for a boycott of the elections and is attempting to give them the nature of a plebiscite--for and against--those who vote supporting the party and communism, and those who boycott the election being against the authorities and socialism. Such a way of treating the elections, M. Orzechowski said, would allow us to count those who cannot vote because they are ill or away on holiday as being opposition supporters.

The above situation was the reason why the following PRON slogan was put forward: the elections are a chance for the country, they are a chance for accord and renewal--a chance that everyone can take advantage of. They also provide people with the chance to participate in regional management and in people's councils that have more rights than they formerly had. People's councils are the managers of a given region, for they manage and control administrative bodies.

Marian Orzechowski also discussed, in detail the principles governing the distribution of seats among councillors. Proposals have been made to increase the participation of nonparty people in the people's councils (to occupying more than just 30 percent of the seats), as well as for a greater participation of PZPR worker members. People's councils should also be renewed and rejuvenated.

M. Orzechowski then answered detailed questions concerning the electoral laws.

The instructors and the senior scouts at the meeting adopted the following appeal: "On the participation of the Polish Scout Union in the elections to the people's councils." The appeal says that the key to national rebirth is moral renewal and the constant democratization of political affairs, and this should be served by constant consultation between the people's councils and society--or even by way of a referendum with the people, a measure that has been forgotten for the past 30 years.

CSO: 2600/830

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Romica Stanciu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines; Comrade Aurel Lapusca is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines; Comrade Dan-Otto Surulescu is appointed deputy minister of mines; Comrade Gheorghe Codreanu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the State Planning Committee and appointed deputy minister of mines; Comrade Dan Dulama is appointed deputy minister of the metallurgical industry; Comrade Emil Barbu is appointed deputy minister of electric power; Comrade Iulian Bituleanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of finance; Comrade Decebal Urdea is appointed deputy minister of finance; Comrade Maria Flucsa is relieved of her position as deputy minister of domestic trade and appointed deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets; Comrade Dumitru Petrescu is relieved of his position as first deputy minister of domestic trade; Comrade Iurea Costica is appointed deputy minister of domestic trade; Comrade Alexandru Oproiu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of health; Comrade George Iacob is appointed deputy minister of health. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 17 Mar 84 p 3]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Catrinescu is relieved of his position as minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry; Comrade Vasile Rauta is relieved of his position as governor of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Comrade Florea Dumitrescu is appointed governor of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and is relieved of his position as counsellor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, minister state secretary; Comrade Ion Iliescu is relieved of his position as chairman of the National Council for Water Resources; Comrade Ion Badea is appointed chairman of the National Council for Water Resources and is relieved of his position as vice chairman of the National Council for Water Resources. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 17 Mar 84 p 3]

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Angelescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the chemical industry and Comrade Ion Militaru is appointed deputy minister of the chemical industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 18, 3 Mar 84 p 5]

CSO: 2700/171

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